

# VIETNAM WAR

## Organized Crime?

Part 1: Colonization & Partition



mygrapefruit

By William P. Litynski

# From the Grassy Knoll in Saigon: Lone Gunman or Patsy?

The Assassination of South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem on November 2, 1963



Diem refused to promise the Americans that he would not negotiate with communist-led insurgents. Six weeks after his meeting with McNamara and Lodge, he was overthrown and killed.

Ngo Dinh Diem, President of South Vietnam and a devout Roman Catholic, was assassinated in Saigon, South Vietnam on **November 2, 1963**.



Lyndon Baines Johnson

“They started on me with [Ngo Dinh] Diem, you remember. He was corrupt and he ought to be killed. **So we killed him. We all got together and got a goddamn bunch of thugs and we went in and assassinated him.** Now, we’ve really had no political stability since then.”

– U.S. President Lyndon Baines Johnson,  
in a tape-recorded conversation (Source: [Youtube](#))



John F. Kennedy, President of the United States and a devout Roman Catholic, and his wife Jackie Kennedy ride in a motorcade in Dallas, Texas, United States of America on **November 22, 1963**, moments before President Kennedy was assassinated.



Left to right: Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam), Dean Rusk (U.S. Secretary of State), Lyndon Baines Johnson (President of the United States), Robert McNamara (U.S. Secretary of Defense), and George W. Ball (Under U.S. Secretary of State) meet privately on **November 23, 1963**. (Photo: [Cecil Stoughton/Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library](#))

# Lyndon Baines Johnson on the Vietnam War: In His Own Words



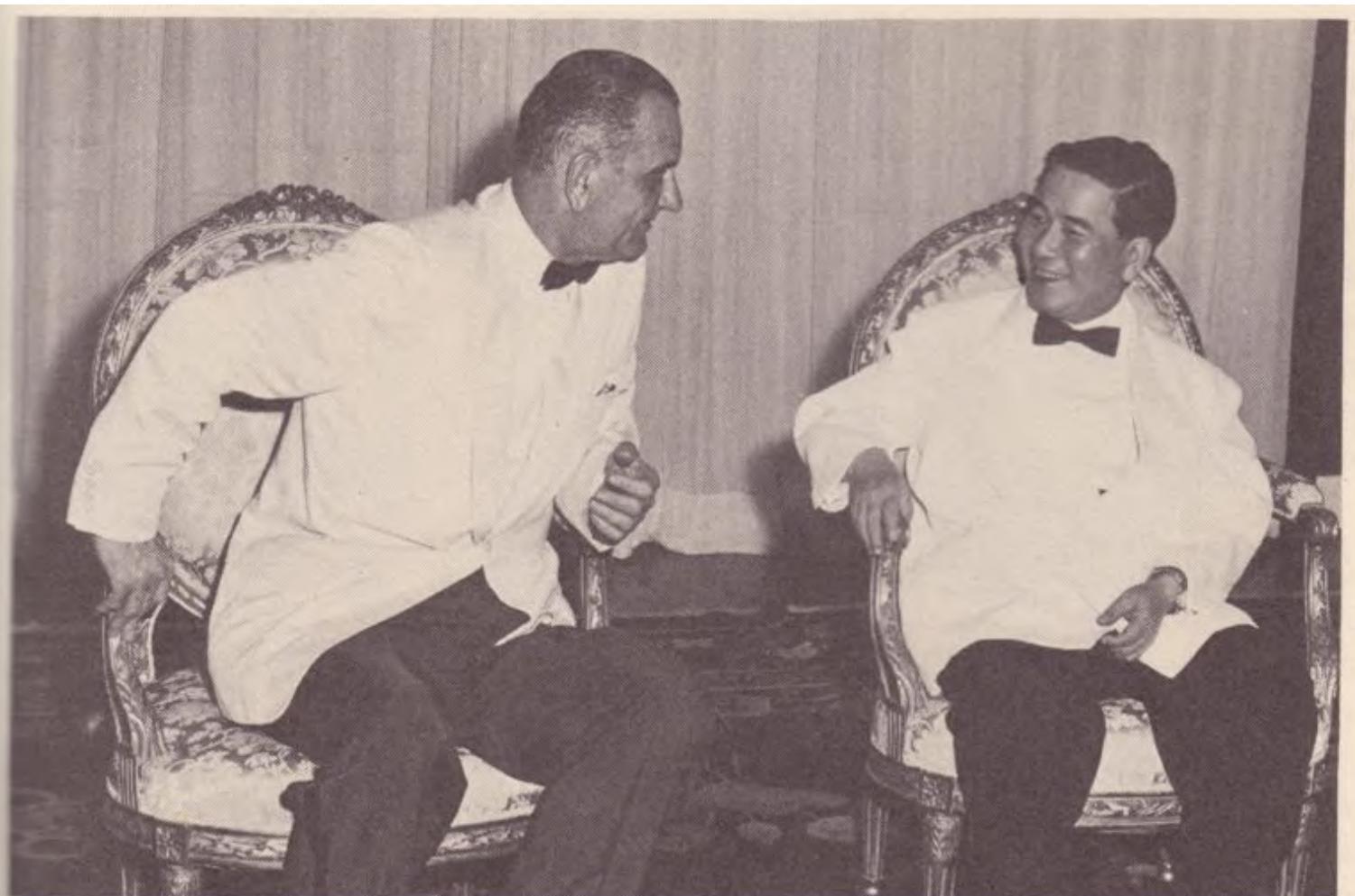
Lyndon Baines Johnson  
President of the United States (1963-1969)

“The confused nature of this conflict cannot mask the fact that it is the new face of an old enemy. Over this war -- and all Asia -- is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peking. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India, and has been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is a nation which is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Vietnam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purposes. Why are these realities our concern? **Why are we in South Vietnam? We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Vietnam. We have helped to build, and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Vietnam defend its independence. And I intend to keep that promise. To dishonor that pledge, to abandon this small and brave nation to its enemies, and to the terror that must follow, would be an unforgivable wrong.** We are also there to strengthen world order. Around the globe, from Berlin to Thailand, are people whose well-being rests, in part, on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war. We are also there because there are great stakes in the balance. Let no one think for a moment that retreat from Vietnam would bring an end to conflict. The battle would be renewed in one country and then another. The central lesson of our time is that the appetite of aggression is never satisfied. To withdraw from one battlefield means only to prepare for the next. We must say in southeast Asia -- as we did in Europe -- in the words of the Bible: "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further." ... And we do this to convince the leaders of North Vietnam -- and all who seek to share their conquest -- of a very simple fact: **We will not be defeated. We will not grow tired. We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement.**”

– U.S. President Lyndon Baines Johnson, in his *Address at Johns Hopkins University: Peace Without Conquest, April 7, 1965*

“I will tell you the more, I just stayed awake last night thinking of this thing [Vietnam War], and **the more that I think of it I don't know what in the hell, it looks like to me that we're getting into another Korea. It just worries the hell out of me. I don't see what we can ever hope to get out of there with once we're committed.** I believe the Chinese Communists are coming into it. I don't think that we can fight them 10,000 miles away from home and ever get anywhere in that area. **I don't think it's worth fighting for and I don't think we can get out. And it's just the biggest damn mess that I ever saw...** And what in the hell am I ordering them out there for? **What in the hell is Vietnam worth to me? What is Laos worth to me? What is it worth to this country?** We've got a treaty but hell, everybody else has got a treaty out there, and they're not doing a thing about it... Of course, if you start running from the Communists, they may just chase you right into your own kitchen... **It's damn easy to get into a war, but if it's going to be awful hard to ever extricate yourself if you get in.”**

– U.S. President Lyndon Baines Johnson, **May 27, 1964**, in a tape-recorded telephone conversation with National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy



*Vice-President Johnson chatting with Ngo Dinh Diem in Saigon in May 1961. Johnson, whom Kennedy had sent on an ambassadorial world tour, exuberantly praised Diem as the "Winston Churchill of Asia," which reassured Diem of American support.*

Vice President Lyndon Baines Johnson (left) meets with South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem in Saigon, South Vietnam in May 1961. (Photo: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

William P. Litynski served in the U.S. Army from September 2001-November 2004, primarily in the First Armored Division in Germany (Apache Troop, 1-1 CAV, Budingen); he was deployed to Iraq (near Baghdad) from April 2003 until July 2004. He attended Crestview High School in Crestview, Florida from 1996-2000 and graduated in 2000. He lived at Yokota Air Base, Japan (U.S. Air Force base near Tokyo) from 1987-1993. (His mother is from Japan, and his grandfather was drafted twice by the Imperial Japanese Navy during World War II.) William P. Litynski has traveled extensively and has visited Tokyo, London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, Vienna, Brussels, Luxembourg City, Munich, Frankfurt am Main, New York City, Washington D.C., Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Seattle, and Dallas. (E-mail: wpl314@yahoo.com)

## Vietnam War: Organized Crime?



French General Jacques-Philippe Leclerc (left), Ho Chi Minh (center), and French Commissioner Jean Sainteny (right) share a toast in Hanoi, French Indochina on March 15, 1946. Ho Chi Minh signed an agreement that allowed the French army to occupy Vietnam (French Indochina) as well as the cities of Saigon and Hanoi.

(Photo: <http://indochinefrancaise.xooit.com/t53-L-Accord-du-6-mars-1946.htm>)

The “War in Vietnam” (also known as “Southern Resistance War”) occurred between the French and British armies and the Viet Minh guerillas from September 13, 1945 to March 30, 1946. The French Indochina War lasted from December 19, 1946 to August 1, 1954.

French Indochina was divided into two military districts for a short time in 1945 and 1946 following the end of World War II; all areas south of the 16<sup>th</sup> Parallel were administered by the British army (from India) and French army and all areas north of the 16<sup>th</sup> Parallel were administered by the Republic of China. The French regained control over Saigon by September 23, 1945; Viet Minh guerillas began fighting against the French occupation army, British-Indian occupation army, and Imperial Japanese “occupation” army stationed in Saigon shortly afterwards. The Viet Minh guerillas (later known as Viet Cong) engaged in arson, sabotage, looting, and murder in Saigon and attacked the docks, city markets, and the main airport (Tan Son Nhut) in Saigon frequently in 1945 and 1946.

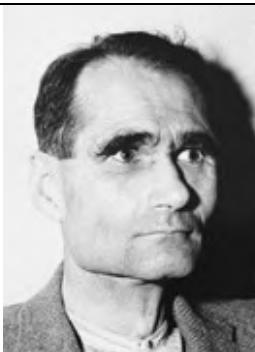
## Nazi German War Criminals who were Alive and Well during the Vietnam War



Grand Admiral  
Karl Doenitz  
**(September 16, 1891-December 24, 1980)**  
Commander-in-Chief of  
the German Navy  
[Kriegsmarine] (1943-1945)



Field Marshal  
Erich von Manstein  
**(November 24, 1887-June 9, 1973)**  
Commander of LVI  
Panzer Corps (1941)



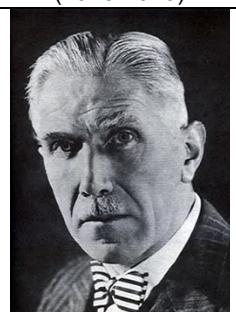
Rudolf Hess  
**(April 26, 1894-August 17, 1987)**  
Deputy Führer of Nazi  
Germany (1933-1941)



Otto Skorzeny  
**(June 12, 1908-July 5, 1975)**  
Nazi SS Commando



Albert Speer  
**(March 19, 1905-September 1, 1981)**  
Minister of Armaments  
and War Production  
(1942-1945); Hitler's  
personal architect



Franz von Papen  
**(October 29, 1879-May 2, 1969)**  
Chancellor of Germany  
(1932); Vice Chancellor of  
Germany (1933-1934);  
German Ambassador to  
Austria (1934-1938);  
German Ambassador to  
Turkey (1939-1944)



Hjalmar Schacht  
**(January 22, 1877-June 3, 1970)**  
President of the  
Reichsbank  
[central bank of Germany]  
(1923-1930, 1933-1939)



Field Marshal  
Erhard Milch  
**(March 30, 1892-January 25, 1972)**  
Luftwaffe officer; former  
Chairman of Lufthansa;  
**Nazi Party member of  
Jewish descent**



Baldur von Schirach  
**(May 9, 1907-August 8, 1974)**  
Gauleiter of Vienna  
(1940-1945); Head of the  
Hitler-Jugend [Hitler  
Youth] (1931-1940)



Nikolaus "Klaus" Barbie  
**(October 25, 1913-September 25, 1991)**  
"Butcher" of Lyon, France



"People ask me who my heroes are. I have only one – Hitler. **I admire Hitler because he has pulled his country together when it was in a terrible state in the early thirties.** But the situation here is so desperate now that one man would not be enough. **We need four or five Hitlers in Vietnam.**"

– General Nguyen Cao Ky, Prime Minister of the Republic of Vietnam, in an interview with the *London Sunday Mirror*, July 13, 1965



Partners of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. banking firm in downtown Manhattan (New York City) (from left to right): E. Roland Harriman, former U.S. Senator Prescott S. Bush, Knight Woolley, and former U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert A. Lovett meet privately at the Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. office in New York City on July 28, 1964. The staged Gulf of Tonkin incident occurred during the first week of August 1964. All four men were members of Skull & Bones, a secret society located at Yale University. Prescott S. Bush was a director of Union Banking Corporation, a bank that accepted money from Nazi German financier Fritz Thyssen.



Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu exercises her right to bear arms and fires a .38 pistol at a firing range in South Vietnam in June 1962.  
(Photo: Larry Burrows/ Time Life)



Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor (left), U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (center), and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara laugh during a meeting in South Vietnam in **September 1963**. South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem would be assassinated in Saigon on November 2, 1963. President John F. Kennedy would be assassinated on November 22, 1963. What exactly were these three men laughing about? (Photo: *Swords and Plowshares* by Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor (1972))



Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (left), the U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, greets CIA spy and retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Edward G. Lansdale in Saigon, South Vietnam. Both men were members of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private organization in New York City where prominent men (and later women) meet behind closed doors to discuss foreign affairs. What exactly were these two men laughing about? (Photo: *Edward Lansdale: The Unquiet American* by Cecil B. Currey)



South Vietnam's General Nguyen Ngoc Loan (left), South Vietnam's Chief of National Police, executes Viet Cong terrorist and suspected child-killer Captain Nguyen Van Lem (right) in Saigon during the Tet Offensive on February 1, 1968. General Loan would later move to Virginia after the Vietnam War; General Loan died of cancer in Virginia in 1998.  
(Photo: Eddie Adams, Associated Press/Wide World Photos)

“Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.”  
– Mao Tse-tung (1893-1976), Chairman of Communist China



Victims of the My Lai Massacre. The My Lai Massacre took place in My Lai, South Vietnam on March 16, 1968, killing 504 Vietnamese men, women, and children. According to Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair in their book *Whiteout*, the My Lai Massacre was part of a CIA covert operation called Operation Phoenix. (Photo by Ronald L. Haeberle)



Kent State Massacre: Four American college students were murdered in broad daylight by members of the Ohio National Guard at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio on May 4, 1970.



Kent State Massacre – May 4, 1970



Kent State Massacre – May 4, 1970



American soldiers await medical assistance in South Vietnam on October 5, 1966. (Photo: Larry Burrows/Time Life)



American soldiers evacuate wounded comrades by stretcher to a nearby helicopter on a muddy road during Vietnam War in South Vietnam in 1969. (Photo: Larry Burrows/Time Life)



American Marines aid a wounded comrade during intense battle for Hill 484 as part of Operation Prairie being conducted near the De-Militarized Zone (DMZ) in South Vietnam in October 1966 during the Vietnam War.  
(Photo: Larry Burrows/Time Life Images)



American soldiers load wounded onto an UH-1D "Huey" helicopter being evacuated from Hill 875 15 miles southwest of Dak To, South Vietnam during the Vietnam War on November 22, 1967. (Photo: Alfred Batungbacal/Time Life)



South Vietnamese infantrymen warily moving past hut they set ablaze after they found it held communist literature during the Vietnam War. (Larry Burrows/Time Life)



An American soldier walks past a burning hut as a Viet Cong base camp is torched near My Tho, Vietnam on April 5, 1968.  
(U.S. Department of Defense)



Men of H Company, 2nd Battalion, 7th Marines, move along rice paddy dikes in pursuit of the Viet Cong in the agricultural areas of South Vietnam, 1965. [NARA]

U.S. Marine troops advance across a rice paddy toward enemy positions during operation 'Lien Kit-4' near Chu Lai, Vietnam during the Vietnam War in circa 1967. (Photo by Hulton Archive/Getty Images)



As the second phase of operation "Thayer," the 1st Air Cavalry Division (airmobile) carries out operation "Irving" in the area 25 miles north of Qui Nhon which lies 400 miles north-northeast of Saigon. The 1st Air Cavalry was given the mission of clearing a mountain range where an estimated two battalions of North Vietnam regulars were supposed to be massing an attack on Hammond Airstrip. Troops of "A" Company check houses during a patrol on 6 October 1966.

(Photo: Lawrence J. Sullivan, SPC5, Photographer/National Archives)



A U.S. riverboat (Zippo monitor) deploying napalm during the Vietnam War.  
(U.S. Naval War College Museum)



Operation Rolling Thunder. Flying under radar control with a B-66 Destroyer, Air Force F-105 Thunderchief pilots bomb a military target through low clouds over the southern panhandle of North Vietnam on June 14, 1966.  
(Photo by Lt. Col. Cecil J. Poss, 20th TRS on RF-101C, USAF)



Defoliation Mission in Vietnam. A U.S. Army UH-1D helicopter from the 336th Aviation Company sprays a defoliation agent on agricultural land in the Mekong Delta on July 26, 1969. (Photo: Brian K. Grigsby, SPC5, Photographer/National Archives)



Defoliant spray run, part of Operation Ranch Hand, during the Vietnam War by UC-123B *Provider* aircraft  
(Photo: U.S. Air Force)

"The jungles of South Vietnam were ideally suited for providing enemy cover for the guerilla tactics employed by troops battling South Vietnamese, American, and other allied forces during the Vietnam War. To offset ambush attacks and protect allied forces, the U.S. military sought to defoliate combat areas by developing and using the herbicide Agent Orange. U.S. military research developed Agent Orange, and the product was formulated based on exacting military specifications. Companies supplying Agent Orange to the government included The Dow Chemical Company, Monsanto Company, Hercules Inc., Diamond Shamrock Chemicals Company, Uniroyal Inc., Thompson Chemical and T-H Agriculture and Nutrition Company. Public concern over Agent Orange has centered not over the product itself, but an unavoidable by-product that was present in only trace levels of one of the product's ingredients. The unavoidable trace by-product was the dioxin compound 2,3,7,8-TCDD."

Source: <http://www.dow.com/commitments/debates/agentorange/index.htm>



Corporate sponsors of chemical warfare in Vietnam; Dillon Anderson, a former National Security Advisor under President Dwight D. Eisenhower, was a director of Monsanto.



A napalm strike erupts in a fireball near U.S. troops on patrol in South Vietnam in 1966 during the Vietnam War. The U.S. military, under the "leadership" of President Lyndon B. Johnson, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy, and Averell Harriman, dropped more than 338,000 tons of napalm (jellied gasoline) on Vietnam and killed more than 2 million Vietnamese, including civilians, women, and children, during eight years of war. (Associated Press Photo)



Smoke billows as a cluster of thatched huts is bombed with napalm in Vietcong territory in South Vietnam in 1966 during Vietnam War. (Photo: Larry Burrows/Time Life)



A descendant and victim of Agent Orange chemical defoliant



Left photo: Nguyen Xuan Minh, age 6, rests in his bed at the "Peace Village" of Tu Du hospital in Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) on May 25, 2007. According to hospital staff, the boy is suffering from physical deformities suspected to have been caused by his parents' exposure to dioxin in the chemical defoliant Agent Orange. ([David Guttenfelder/Associated Press](#))



Right photo: A disfigured Vietnamese girl is one of many Vietnamese children that continue to suffer from the side effects of Agent Orange. Many Vietnamese people and Vietnam War veterans suffer from the physical and psychological effects of Agent Orange.



LIFE

Grieving widow cry over plastic bag containing remains of her husband recently found in mass grave in Hue, South Vietnam in April 1969. Her husband was killed during the Tet Offensive that occurred in February 1968.  
(Photo: Larry Burrows/Time Life Images)



U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson (right) meets with Federal Reserve Chairman William McChesney Martin Jr. (second from left), Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer (third from right), and Under Secretary of State George W. Ball (second from right) during a Balance of Payments Meeting in the Cabinet Room at the White House in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on September 20, 1965. (Photo: [Yoichi R. Okamoto/Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library](#))

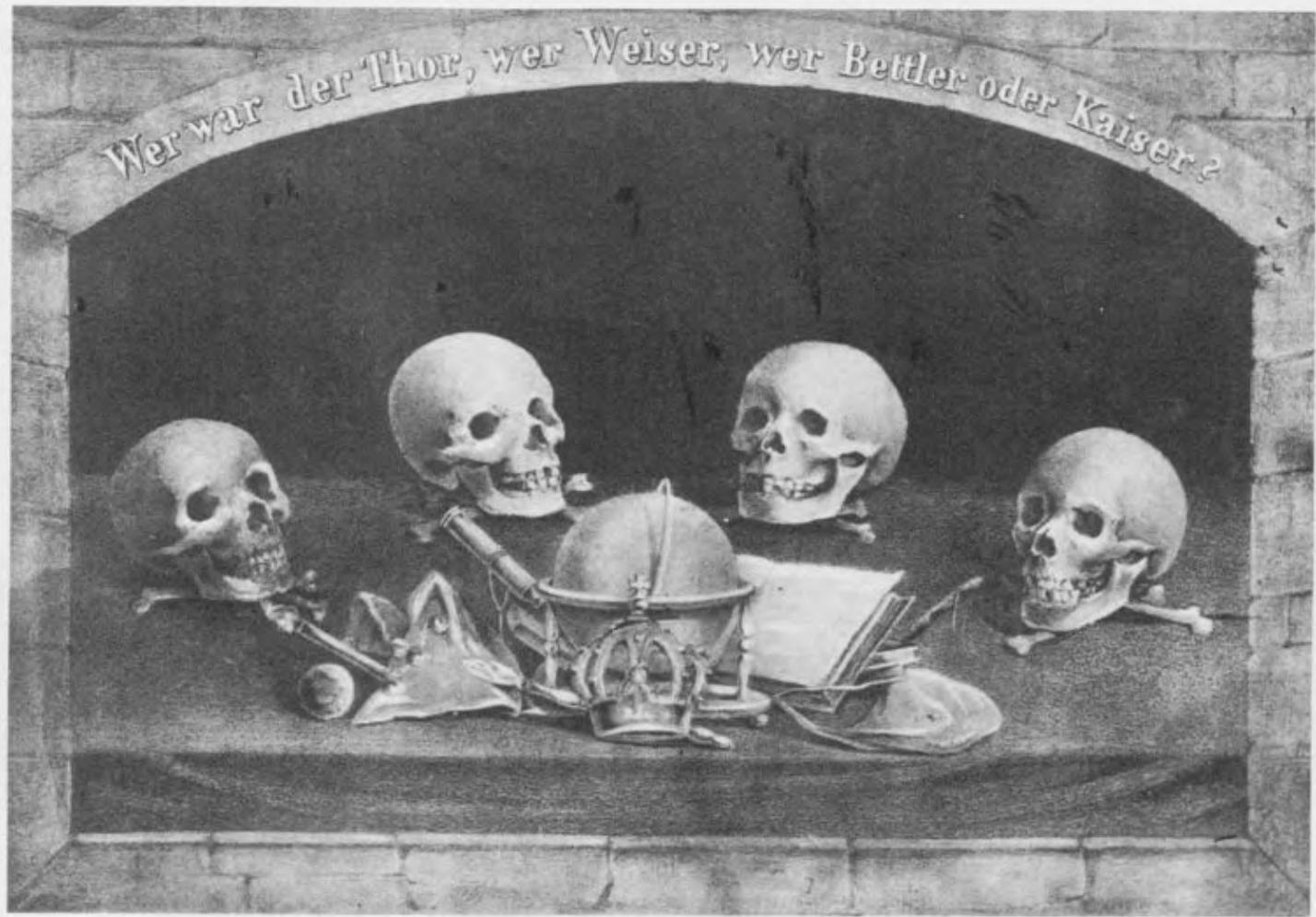
#### American National Debt During the French Indochina War (1945-1954) and Vietnam War (1964-1973):

June 30, 1947 - \$258,286,383,108.67	June 30, 1957 - \$270,527,171,896.43	June 30, 1967 - \$326,220,937,794.54
June 30, 1948 - \$252,292,246,512.99	June 30, 1958 - \$276,343,217,745.81	June 30, 1968 - \$347,578,406,425.88
June 30, 1949 - \$252,770,359,860.33	June 30, 1959 - \$284,705,907,078.22	June 30, 1969 - \$353,720,253,841.41
June 30, 1950 - \$257,357,352,351.04	June 30, 1960 - \$286,330,760,848.37	June 30, 1970 - \$370,918,706,949.93
June 29, 1951 - \$255,221,976,814.93	June 30, 1961 - \$288,970,938,610.05	June 30, 1971 - \$398,129,744,455.54
June 30, 1952 - \$259,105,178,785.43	June 30, 1962 - \$298,200,822,720.87	June 30, 1972 - \$427,260,460,940.50
June 30, 1953 - \$266,071,061,638.57	June 30, 1963 - \$305,859,632,996.41	June 30, 1973 - \$458,141,605,312.09
June 30, 1954 - \$271,259,599,108.46	June 30, 1964 - \$311,712,899,257.30	June 30, 1974 - \$475,059,815,731.55
June 30, 1955 - \$274,374,222,802.62	June 30, 1965 - \$317,273,898,983.64	June 30, 1975 - \$533,189,000,000.00*
June 30, 1956 - \$272,750,813,649.32	June 30, 1966 - \$319,907,087,795.48	June 30, 1976 - \$620,433,000,000.00*

Note: \*Rounded to Millions. Includes legal tender notes, gold and silver certificates, etc. The first fiscal year for the U.S. Government started Jan. 1, 1789. Congress changed the beginning of the fiscal year from Jan. 1 to Jul. 1 in 1842, and finally from Jul. 1 to Oct. 1 in 1977 where it remains today. To find more historical information, visit The Public Debt [Historical Information](#) archives.

Source: [http://www.treasurydirect.gov/govt/reports/pd/histdebt/histdebt\\_histo4.htm](http://www.treasurydirect.gov/govt/reports/pd/histdebt/histdebt_histo4.htm)

# Order Out Of Chaos: Skull & Bones and Vietnam War



This picture, which hangs in the tomb, is in an 1882 Skull and Bones photograph album. Its engraving translates to “Who was the fool, who the wise man, beggar, or king?”

Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library

The Order of Skull & Bones is a secret society at Yale University. The Order of Skull & Bones is also known as the “Brotherhood of Death.” Skull & Bones initiation rituals allegedly include individuals resting naked in a coffin and revealing their sex life to 14 fellow Bonesmen. (Source: *Secrets of the Tomb: Skull and Bones, the Ivy League, and the Hidden Paths of Power* by Alexandra Robbins)

**“In politics, nothing happens by accident. If it happens, you can bet it was planned that way.”**  
– Franklin Delano Roosevelt

TIM RUSSERT: You both were members of Skull and Bones, a secret society at Yale. What does that tell us?

**SEN. JOHN KERRY: Not much, because it's a secret.**

— *Meet the Press* on NBC, August 31, 2003



TIM RUSSERT: You were both in Skull and Bones, the secret society.

**PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH: It's so secret we can't talk about it.**

— *Meet the Press* on NBC, February 7, 2004

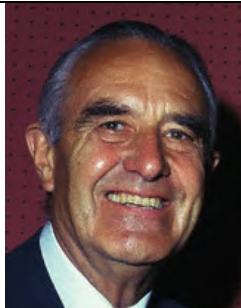
## Prominent Members of Skull & Bones during the Vietnam War



**Robert A. Lovett**  
B.A. Yale 1918  
Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1931-1940, 1946-1947, 1949-1950, 1953-1986)



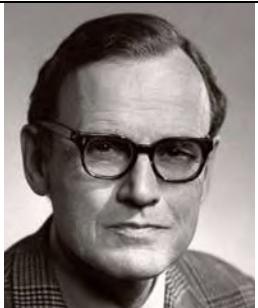
**Prescott S. Bush**  
B.A. Yale 1917  
Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1931-1972)



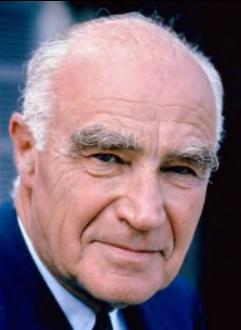
**W. Averell Harriman**  
B.A. Yale 1913  
U.S. Negotiator at the Paris Peace Conference on Vietnam (1968-1969)



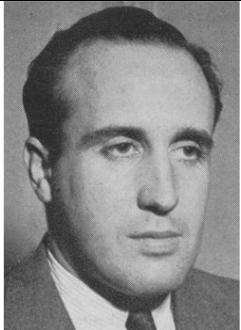
**McGeorge Bundy**  
B.A. Yale 1940  
National Security Advisor (1961-1966)



**William P. Bundy**  
B.A. Yale 1939  
Asst. Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1964-1969)



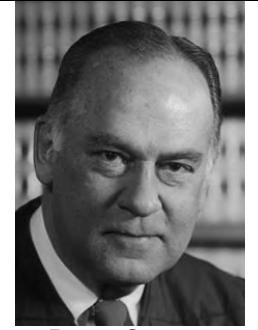
**Henry R. Luce**  
B.A. Yale 1920  
Editor-in-Chief of *Time* magazine (1923-1964)



**Henry John Heinz II**  
B.A. Yale 1931  
Chairman of H.J. Heinz Co. (1959-1987)



**John H. Chafee**  
B.A. Yale 1947  
Secretary of the Navy (1969-1972)



**Potter Stewart**  
B.A. Yale 1937  
Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1958-1981)



**Charles M. Spofford**  
B.A. Yale 1924  
Member of Davis, Polk & Wardwell [law firm] (1940-1950, 1952-1973)



**Thomas "Lud" Ashley**  
B.A. Yale 1948  
U.S. Congressman (D-Ohio, 1955-1981)



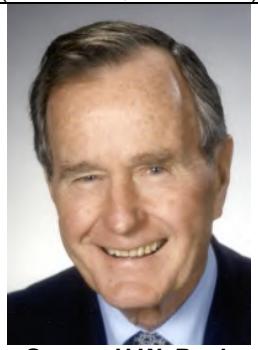
**William S. Moorhead Jr.**  
B.A. Yale 1945  
U.S. Congressman (D-Penn., 1959-1981)



**John Sherman Cooper**  
B.A. Yale 1923  
U.S. Senator (R-Kentucky, 1946-1949, 1952-1955, 1956-1973)



**Jonathan B. Bingham**  
B.A. Yale 1936  
U.S. Congressman (D-New York, 1965-1983)



**George H.W. Bush**  
B.A. Yale 1948  
U.S. Congressman (R-Texas, 1967-1971)



**E. Roland Harriman**  
B.A. Yale 1917  
Chairman of American Red Cross (1954-1973)



**William F. Buckley Jr.**  
B.A. Yale 1950  
Editor-in-Chief of *National Review* magazine (1955-1990)



**William S. Coffin Jr.**  
B.A. Yale 1949  
Chaplain of Yale University (1958-1976)



**Barry Zorthian**  
B.A. Yale 1941  
Director of the Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office in Saigon (1964-1968)



**John Forbes Kerry**  
B.A. Yale 1966  
Anti-Vietnam War Protester and Former U.S. Navy Officer

**"We need four or five Hitlers in Vietnam."** – Gen. Nguyen Cao Ky



The Tomb, official headquarters of The Order of Skull & Bones, is located at Yale University on High Street in New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.



Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.

# Members of Skull & Bones during the Vietnam War

## Lyndon B. Johnson Administration (1963-1969)

McGeorge Bundy (S&B 1940) – National Security Advisor (1961-1966)  
William P. Bundy (S&B 1939) – Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (1963-1964); Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1964-1969)  
W. Averell Harriman (S&B 1913) – Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (1963-1965); Ambassador at Large (1965-1969); U.S. Negotiator at the Paris Peace Conference on Vietnam (1968-1969)  
Townsend Hoopes (S&B 1944) – Under Secretary of the Air Force (1967-1969)  
Peter O. A. Solbert (S&B 1941) – Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (1963-1965)  
Richard C. Steadman (S&B 1955) – Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia and Pacific Affairs (1966-1969)  
Gaspard d'Andelot Belin (S&B 1939) – General Counsel of the U.S. Department of the Treasury (1962-1965)  
William H. Orrick Jr. (S&B 1937) – Assistant U.S. Attorney General for Antitrust Division (1963-1965)  
Harold Howe II (S&B 1940) – U.S. Commissioner of Education (1965-1968)  
James J. Wadsworth (S&B 1927) – Member of Federal Communications Commission (1965-1969)  
David Campion Acheson (S&B 1943) – U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia (1961-1965); Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury (1965-1967)  
Jonathan B. Bingham (S&B 1936) – U.S. Representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (1963-1964)  
Barry Zorthian (S&B 1941) – Chief U.S. Spokesman and Director of the Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office in Saigon (1964-1968)

## Nixon Administration (1969-1974)

George H.W. Bush (S&B 1948) – U.S. Representative to the United Nations (1971-1973)  
Charles S. Whitehouse (S&B 1947) – U.S. Ambassador to Laos (1973-1975); Deputy Ambassador to South Vietnam (1972-1973)  
John H. Chafee (S&B 1947) – Secretary of the Navy (1969-1972)  
Winston Lord (S&B 1959) – Director of State Department Policy Planning Staff (1973-1977)  
William H. Donaldson (S&B 1953) – Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance (1973-1974)  
Raymond K. Price Jr. (S&B 1951) – Special Assistant to the President (1969); Special Consultant to the President (1974)  
Jonathan C. Rose (S&B 1963) – Special Assistant to the President (1970-1972); General Counsel of Council on International Economic Policy (1972-1974)  
David DeWitt Dominick (S&B 1960) – Commissioner of Federal Water Quality Administration [Dept. of the Interior] (1969-1971); Assistant Environmental Protection Agency Administrator for Hazardous Materials Control (1971-1973)  
Richard Anthony Moore (S&B 1936) – Special Counsel to the President of the United States (1971-1974)

## Politicians and Judges

Potter Stewart (S&B 1937) – Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1958-1981)  
John Sherman Cooper (S&B 1923, Republican Party-Kentucky) – U.S. Senator (1946-1949; 1952-1955; 1956-1973)  
James L. Buckley (S&B 1944, Conservative Party-New York) – U.S. Senator (1971-1977)  
Thomas William Ludlow "Lud" Ashley (S&B 1948, Democratic Party-Ohio) – U.S. Congressman (1955-1981)  
William S. Moorhead Jr. (S&B 1945, Democratic Party-Pennsylvania) – U.S. Congressman (1959-1981)  
Jonathan Brewster Bingham (S&B 1936, Democratic Party-New York) – U.S. Congressman (1965-1983)  
George H.W. Bush (S&B 1948, Republican Party-Texas) – U.S. Congressman (1967-1971)

## Businessmen and Executives

McGeorge Bundy (S&B 1940) – President of Ford Foundation (1966-1979)  
Harold Howe II (S&B 1940) – Vice President of Ford Foundation (1971-1981)  
Henry R. Luce (S&B 1920) – Editor-in-Chief of *Time*, Inc. (1923-1964); founder of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* magazines  
William F. Buckley, Jr. (S&B 1950) – Editor-in-Chief of *National Review* magazine (1955-1990)  
Barry Zorthian (B.A. 1941; S&B 1941) – Vice President of Time, Inc. (1969-1979)  
William Sloane Coffin Jr. (S&B 1949) – Chaplain of Yale University (1958-1976)  
Joseph Richardson Dilworth (S&B 1938) – Chairman of the board of Rockefeller Center, Inc. (1966-1982)  
Henry John Heinz II (S&B 1931) – Chairman of the board of H.J. Heinz Company (1959-1987)  
George Herbert Walker Jr. (B.A. 1927, S&B 1927) – Partner of G.H. Walker & Co. [investment company] (1929-1974)  
Charles M. Spofford (S&B 1924) – Member of Davis, Polk & Wardwell [law firm in New York City] (1940-1950, 1952-1973)  
Edward Rogers Wardwell (S&B 1927) – Member of Davis, Polk & Wardwell [law firm in New York City] (1946-c.1972)  
Peter O.A. Solbert (S&B 1941) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell [law firm in New York City] (1957-1989)  
William Eldred Jackson (S&B 1941) – Partner of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy [law firm in New York City] (1954-1999)  
John Baker Jessup (S&B 1942) – Partner of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts [law firm in New York City] (1959-1993)  
Endicott Peabody Davison (S&B 1945) – Partner of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts [law firm in New York City] (1959-1980)  
Harold H. Healy Jr. (S&B 1943) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton [law firm in New York City] (1959-1989)

## Partners of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (international bank in New York City)

W. Averell Harriman (S&B 1913) – Partner (1931-1946); Limited Partner (1946-1986)  
E. Roland Harriman (S&B 1917) – Partner (1931-1978); Chairman of American Red Cross (1954-1973)  
Prescott S. Bush (S&B 1917) – Partner (1931-1972); U.S. Senator (1952-1963)  
Knight Woolley (S&B 1917) – Partner (1931-1982)  
Robert A. Lovett (S&B 1918) – Partner (1931-1940, 1946-1947, 1949-1950, 1953-1986); Secretary of Defense (1951-1953)  
Stephen Y. Hord (S&B 1921) – Partner (1945-1981)  
Granger K. Costikyan (S&B 1929) – Partner (1969-1998)  
John Beckwith Madden (S&B 1941) – Partner (1955-1988)  
Walter H. Brown (S&B 1945W) – Partner (1968-?)

# War Criminals or Damn Yankees?

Yale University Graduates & Council on Foreign Relations Members during the Vietnam War



**Walt W. Rostow**  
B.A. Yale 1936  
National Security Advisor  
(1966-1969)



**Stanley R. Resor**  
B.A. Yale 1939  
Secretary of the Army  
(1965-1971)



**Ellsworth Bunker**  
B.A. Yale 1916  
U.S. Ambassador to  
South Vietnam  
(1967-1973)



**William McC. Martin Jr.**  
B.A. Yale 1928  
Chairman of the Federal  
Reserve (1951-1970)



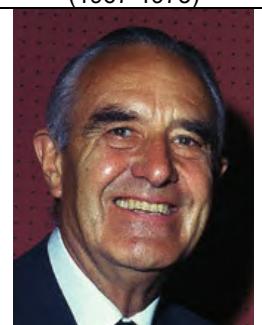
**Alfred Hayes**  
B.A. Yale 1930  
President of the Federal  
Reserve Bank of New  
York (1956-1975)



**McGeorge Bundy**  
B.A. Yale 1940  
National Security Advisor  
(1961-1966); President of  
Ford Foundation  
(1966-1979)



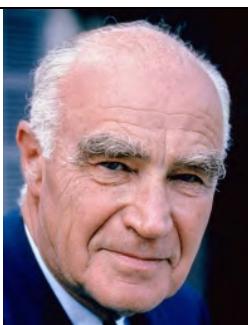
**William P. Bundy**  
B.A. Yale 1939  
Asst. Secretary of State  
for East Asian and Pacific  
Affairs (1964-1969)



**W. Averell Harriman**  
B.A. Yale 1913  
U.S. Negotiator at the  
Paris Peace Conference  
on Vietnam (1968-1969)



**E. Roland Harriman**  
B.A. Yale 1917  
Chairman of American  
Red Cross (1954-1973)



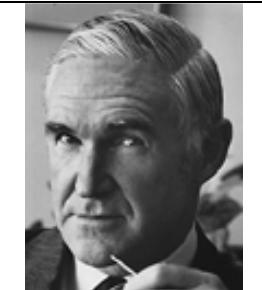
**Henry R. Luce**  
B.A. Yale 1920  
Editor-in-Chief of *Time*  
magazine (1923-1964)



**John Sherman Cooper**  
B.A. Yale 1923  
U.S. Senator  
(R-Kentucky, 1946-1949,  
1952-1955, 1956-1973)



**Charles M. Spofford**  
B.A. Yale 1924  
Member of Davis, Polk &  
Wardwell [law firm] (1940-  
1950, 1952-1973)



**Townsend W. Hoopes**  
B.A. Yale 1944  
Under Secretary of the Air  
Force (1967-1969)



**Knight Woolley**  
B.A. Yale 1917  
Partner of Brown Brothers  
Harriman & Co. [bank]  
(1931-1982)



**Henry John Heinz II**  
B.A. Yale 1931  
Chairman of the board of  
H.J. Heinz Company  
(1959-1987)



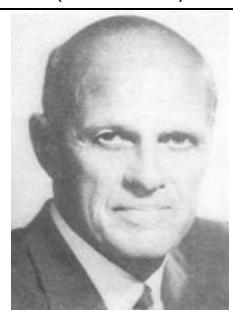
**W. Stuart Symington**  
B.A. Yale 1923  
U.S. Senator  
(D-Missouri, 1953-1976)



**Cyrus R. Vance**  
B.A. Yale 1939  
Deputy Secretary of  
Defense (1964-1967)



**Kingman Brewster Jr.**  
B.A. Yale 1941  
President of Yale  
University (1963-1977)



**George S. Moore**  
B.S. Yale 1927  
Chairman of the board of  
First National City Bank of  
New York (1967-1970)



**J. Irwin Miller**  
B.A. Yale 1931  
Chairman of the board of  
Cummins Engine Co.  
(1951-1977)

## Other Prominent Yale University Graduates



Chester Bowles  
B.A. Yale 1924  
U.S. Ambassador to India  
(1951-1953, 1963-1969)



Winthrop G. Brown  
B.A. Yale 1929  
U.S. Ambassador to Laos  
(1962-1964); U.S.  
Ambassador to South  
Korea (1964-1967)



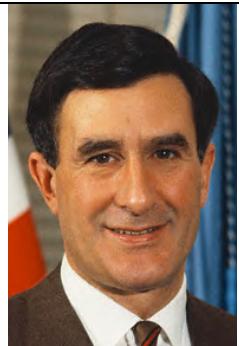
R. Sargent Shriver Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1938  
U.S. Ambassador to  
France (1968-1970)



Marshall Green  
B.A. Yale 1939  
U.S. Ambassador to  
Indonesia (1965-1969)



Charles S. Whitehouse  
B.A. Yale 1947  
U.S. Ambassador to Laos  
(1973-1975)



John H. Chafee  
B.A. Yale 1947  
Secretary of the Navy  
(1969-1972)



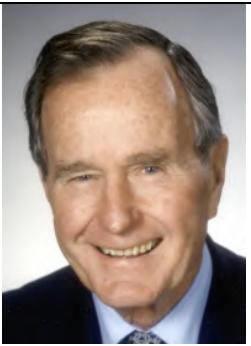
John V. Lindsay  
B.A. Yale 1944  
Mayor of New York City  
(1966-1973)



Douglas MacArthur II  
B.A. Yale 1931  
U.S. Ambassador to  
Austria (1967-1969);  
U.S. Ambassador to Iran  
(1969-1972)



Eugene V. Rostow  
B.A. Yale 1933  
Under Secretary of State  
for Political Affairs  
(1966-1969)



George H.W. Bush  
B.A. Yale 1948  
U.S. Congressman  
(R-Texas, 1967-1971)



Philip L. Geyelin  
B.A. Yale 1944  
Editorial Page Editor of  
*The Washington Post*  
(1968-1979)



Richard M. Bissell Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1932  
Deputy CIA Director for  
Plans (1959-1962)



Cord Meyer Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1943  
Assistant Deputy CIA  
Director of Plans  
(1967-1973)



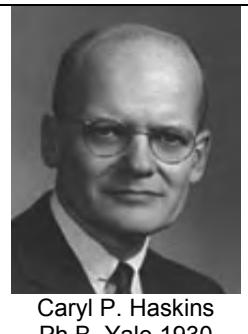
James Jesus Angleton  
B.A. Yale 1941  
Chief of CIA  
Counterintelligence Staff  
(1954-1974)



John K. Jessup  
B.A. Yale 1928  
Chief Editorial Writer of  
*Life* magazine  
(1951-1969)



Harold Howe II  
B.A. Yale 1940  
U.S. Commissioner of  
Education (1965-1968)



Caryl P. Haskins  
Ph.B. Yale 1930  
President of Carnegie  
Institution of Washington  
(1956-1971)



Dean G. Acheson  
B.A. Yale 1915  
Member of Covington &  
Burling [law firm]  
(1953-1971)



Roswell L. Gilpatric  
B.A. Yale 1928  
Partner of Cravath,  
Swaine & Moore [law firm]  
(1953-1961, 1964-1977)



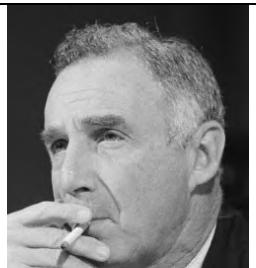
Lloyd N. Cutler  
B.A. Yale 1936  
Partner of Wilmer Cutler  
Pickering (1962-1979,  
1981-1990)



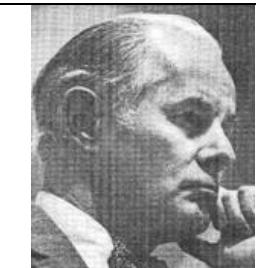
James S. Rockefeller  
B.A. Yale 1924  
Chairman of National City  
Bank of New York  
(Citibank) (1959-1967)



Nicholas F. Brady  
B.A. Yale 1952  
Vice President of Dillon,  
Read & Co. (1961-1971)



Joseph F. Cullman III  
B.A. Yale 1935  
Chairman of the board  
and CEO of Philip Morris  
Company (1967-1978)



J. Richardson Dilworth  
B.A. Yale 1938  
Chairman of the board of  
Rockefeller Center, Inc.  
(1966-1982)



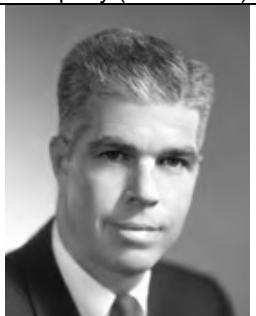
Juan Terry Trippe  
Ph.B. Yale 1921  
Chairman and CEO of  
Pan American World  
Airways, Inc. (1964-1968)



Thruston B. Morton  
B.A. Yale 1929  
U.S. Senator  
(Republican-Kentucky,  
1957-1968); brother of  
Rogers C.B. Morton



Rogers C.B. Morton  
B.A. Yale 1937  
U.S. Congressman  
(Republican-Maryland,  
1963-1971)



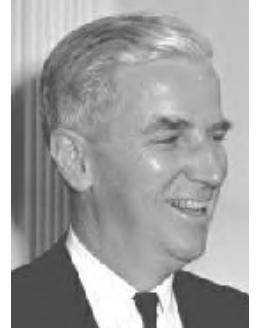
Peter H. Dominick  
B.A. Yale 1937  
U.S. Senator  
(Republican-Colorado,  
1963-1975)



William Proxmire  
B.A. Yale 1938  
U.S. Senator  
(Democrat-Wisconsin,  
1957-1989)



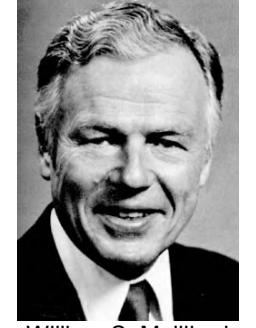
Robert Taft, Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1939  
U.S. Congressman  
(Republican-Ohio, 1963-  
1965, 1967-1971)



Jonathan B. Bingham  
B.A. Yale 1936  
U.S. Congressman  
(Democrat-New  
York, 1965-1983)



Thomas "Lud" Ashley  
B.A. Yale 1948  
U.S. Congressman  
(Democrat-Ohio,  
1955-1981)



William S. Mailliard  
B.A. Yale 1939  
U.S. Congressman  
(Republican-California,  
1953-1974)



William S. Moorhead Jr.  
B.A. Yale 1945  
U.S. Congressman  
(Democrat-Pennsylvania,  
1959-1981)



Donald Jay Irwin  
B.A. Yale 1951  
U.S. Congressman  
(Democrat-Connecticut,  
1959-1961, 1965-1969)



Bayless Manning  
B.A. Yale 1943  
Dean of Stanford Law  
School (1964-1971)



A(rthur) Doak Barnett  
B.A. Yale 1942  
Professor of Political  
Science at Columbia  
University (1961-1969)



William W. Scranton  
B.A. Yale 1939  
Governor of Pennsylvania  
(1963-1967)



William Grawn Milliken  
B.A. Yale 1946  
Governor of Michigan  
(1969-1983); Lieutenant  
Governor of Michigan  
(1965-1969)



Richard B. Ogilvie  
B.A. Yale 1947  
Governor of Illinois  
(1969-1973);  
Sheriff of Cook County,  
Illinois (1963-1967)

Government Officials:

\*Ellsworth Bunker (B.A. 1916) – U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam (April 28, 1967-May 11, 1973)  
\*Stanley R. Resor (B.A. 1939, LL.B. 1946, S&K 1939) – Secretary of the Army (July 2, 1965-June 30, 1971)  
\*Walt W. Rostow (B.A. 1936, Ph.D. 1940) – National Security Advisor (1966-1969); Counselor of the State Department (1961-1966)  
\*W. Averell Harriman (B.A. 1913; S&B 1913) – U.S. Negotiator at the Paris Peace Conference on Vietnam (1968-1969); Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (1963-1965); Ambassador at Large (1965-1969)  
\*Cyrus R. Vance (B.A. 1939; LL.B. 1942, S&K 1939) – U.S. Negotiator at the Paris Peace Conference on Vietnam (1968-1969); Deputy Secretary of Defense (1964-1967); Secretary of the Army (1962-1964)  
\*William P. Bundy (B.A. 1939; S&B 1939) – Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1965-1969); Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (1963-1964); CIA agent (1951-1961)  
\*Eugene V. Rostow (B.A. 1933) – Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs (1966-1969)  
Thaddeus R. Beal Jr. (B.A. 1939, S&K 1939) – Under Secretary of the Army (1969-1971); President of Harvard Trust Co. [Boston] (1957-1969)  
\*Paul C. Warnke (B.A. 1941) – Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (1967-1969)  
Eugene M. Zuckert (B.A. 1933, LL.B. 1937) – Secretary of the Air Force (January 23, 1961-September 30, 1965); Partner of Zuckert, Scourt & Rasenburger [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1967-1988)  
\*Norman S. Paul (B.A. 1940) – Under Secretary of the Air Force (1965-1967); CIA agent (1955-1960)  
\*Townsend Hoopes (B.A. 1944; S&B 1944) – Under Secretary of the Air Force (1967-1969)  
John M. Steadman (B.A. 1952, S&B 1952) – General Counsel of the Department of the Air Force (1968-1970); Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (1965-1968)  
\*John H. Chafee (B.A. 1947; S&B 1947) – Secretary of the Navy (January 31, 1969-May 4, 1972); Governor of Rhode Island (1963-1969)  
James Jesus Angleton (B.A. 1941) – Chief of CIA Counterintelligence Staff (1954-1974)  
Hugh Terry Cunningham (B.A. 1934, S&B 1934) – Director of Training at the Central Intelligence Agency (1969-1973)  
\*Porter J. Goss (B.A. 1960) – CIA clandestine services officer (1962-1971)  
\*Cord Meyer Jr. (B.A. 1943) – Assistant Deputy CIA Director of Plans (1967-1973)  
Sherman Kent (Ph.B. 1926, Ph.D. 1933) – Assistant Director of Central Intelligence Agency (1950-1967)  
Elbridge Durbrow (Ph.B. 1926) – U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam (1957-1961)  
George McMurtrie Godley (B.A. 1939) – U.S. Ambassador to Laos (1969-1973); Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1968-1969)  
\*Charles S. Whitehouse (B.A. 1947; S&B 1947) – U.S. Ambassador to Laos (1973-1975); U.S. Ambassador to Thailand (1975-1978)  
Marshall Green (B.A. 1939) – U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia (1965-1969); Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1969-1973); U.S. Consul-General in Hong Kong (1961-1963); Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (1963-1965)  
\*Douglas MacArthur II (B.A. 1931) – Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations (1965-1967); U.S. Ambassador to Austria (1967-1969); U.S. Ambassador to Iran (1969-1972)  
\*William B. Macomber Jr. (B.A. 1943) – Asst. Sec. of State for Congressional Relations (1967-1969); U.S. Ambassador to Turkey (1973-1977)  
\*Chester Bowles (B.A. 1924) – U.S. Ambassador to India (1963-1969)  
Kenneth Franzheim II (B.A. 1948) – U.S. Ambassador to New Zealand (1969-1972)  
\*Winthrop G. Brown (B.A. 1929; LL.B. 1932, S&K 1929) – U.S. Ambassador to South Korea (August 14, 1964-June 10, 1967); U.S. Ambassador to Laos (1962-1964); Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1968-1972)  
\*R. Sargent Shriver Jr. (B.A. 1938; LL.B. 1941; S&K 1938) – U.S. Ambassador to France (May 25, 1968-March 25, 1970); Director of Peace Corps (1961-1966)  
Raymond Richard Guest (B.A. 1931, S&K 1931) – U.S. Ambassador to Ireland (April 28, 1965-June 7, 1968)  
Spencer Mathews King (B.A. 1940) – U.S. Ambassador to Guyana (1969-1974); Deputy Inspector General of U.S. Dept. of State (1964-1969)  
\*Thomas O. Enders (B.A. 1953, S&K 1953) – Deputy Chief of Mission to Cambodia (1971-1973); Charge d'Affaires of Cambodia (1973-1974)  
Robert F. Wagner Jr. (B.A. 1933, S&K 1933) – U.S. Ambassador to Spain (July 4, 1968-March 7, 1969); Mayor of New York City (1954-1965)  
J. Graham Parsons (B.A. 1929) – U.S. Ambassador to Sweden (1961-1967); Senior Foreign Service Inspector, U.S. State Dept. (1967-1969)  
Albert William Sherer, Jr. (B.A. 1938) – U.S. Ambassador to Togo (1967-1970)  
Homer M. Byington, Jr. (B.A. 1930) – U.S. Ambassador to Malaya [Malaysia] (1957-1961); U.S. Consul General in Naples, Italy (1962-c.1972)  
\*Joseph N. Greene Jr. (B.A. 1941) – Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, India (1963-1968); Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in London, Great Britain (1970-1971)  
Richard Garon Johnson (B.A. 1946) – Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Sofia, Bulgaria (1967-1970)  
David Cameron Cuthell (B.A. 1942) – Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. Embassy in Ankara, Turkey (1970-1972)  
Steuart L. Pittman (B.A. 1941) – Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Defense (1961-1964)  
\*Richard C. Steadman (B.A. 1955, S&B 1955) – Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (1966-1969)  
\*Hewson A. Ryan (B.A. 1946) – Deputy Director of U.S. Information Agency (1966-1969); U.S. Ambassador to Honduras (1969-1973)  
\*James J. Wadsworth (B.A. 1927; S&B 1927) – Member of Federal Communications Commission (1965-1969)  
Arthur Joy Draper (B.A. 1937, S&B 1937) – Chief of Medicine at U.S. Naval Hospital in Oakland (1961-1966)  
\*John M. Cates Jr. (B.A. 1936, J.D. 1939) – Counselor of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations (1963-1970)  
\*William J. Jorden (B.A. 1947) – Senior Member of the National Security Council staff (1966-1968, 1972-1974); member of the American delegation to the Vietnam Peace Talks in Paris (1968-1969)  
\*Lawrence C. McQuade (B.A. 1950) – Assistant Secretary of Commerce (1967-1969); President and CEO of Procon Incorporated (1969-1975)  
\*Winston Lord (B.A. 1959, S&B 1959) – Member of the National Security Council staff (1969-1973); Member of the Policy Planning Staff in International Security Affairs at the U.S. Department of Defense (1967-1969)  
\*John D. Negroponte (B.A. 1960) – Second Secretary at the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, South Vietnam (1964-1968); Member of the National Security Council staff (1970-1973); Member of the American Delegation to the Vietnam Peace Talks in Paris (1968-1969)  
William Cowles Hamilton (B.A. 1947, M.A. 1949, Ph.D. 1955) – Deputy Director for Far East Region, International Security Affairs, U.S. Department of Defense (1964-1966); Country Director for Laos, U.S. Department of State (1966-1967); Counselor for Political Affairs at U.S. Embassy in Bangkok, Thailand (1967-1970); Minister at the U.S. Embassy in Manila, Philippines (1971-1973)  
Harry E.T. Thayer (B.A. 1951) – Deputy Director of the Office of Asian Communist Affairs at the U.S. State Department (1968-1970); Deputy Principal Counselor to the U.S. Mission to the United Nations (1971-1975); Director of the Office of the People's Republic of China and Mongolia Affairs at the U.S. State Department (1976-1979)

Mark B. Lewis (B.A. 1947) – Chairman of Television Task Force, U.S. Information Agency (1969-1970)

\*William Matson Roth (B.A. 1939) – Special Representative for Trade Negotiations (1967-1969); Deputy Special Representative for Trade Negotiations (1963-1966)

\*William S. Gaud (B.A. 1929, LL.B. 1931) – Administrator of U.S. Agency for International Development (1966-1969)

Leonard Story Zartman (B.A. 1948) – Special Assistant to the President of the United States (1969); General Counsel of Small Business Administration (1969-1970); Secretary of Eastman Kodak Co. [photography] (1973-c.1980); Attorney of Eastman Kodak Co. (1964-1968)

James Pomeroy Hendrick (B.A. 1923) – Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (1962-1969); Vice President of INTERPOL (1968-1969)

\*John Sherman Cooper (B.A. 1923; S&B 1923) – U.S. Senator (Republican-Kentucky, 1946-1949; 1952-1955; 1956-1973)

\*W. Stuart Symington (B.A. 1923) – U.S. Senator (Democrat-Missouri, 1953-1976)

Thruston B. Morton (B.A. 1929) – U.S. Senator (Republican-Kentucky, January 3, 1957-December 16, 1968)

William Proxmire (B.A. 1938) – U.S. Senator (Democrat-Wisconsin, 1957-1989)

Peter H. Dominick (B.A. 1937, S&K 1937) – U.S. Senator (Republican-Colorado, 1963-1975)

\*James L. Buckley (B.A. 1944, LL.B. 1949, S&B 1944) – U.S. Senator (Conservative Party-New York, 1971-1977)

John G. Beall Jr. (B.A. 1950) – U.S. Senator (Republican-Maryland, 1971-1977); U.S. Congressman (Republican-Maryland, 1969-1971)

\*Lowell P. Weicker (B.A. 1953) – U.S. Senator (Republican-Connecticut, 1971-1989); U.S. Congressman (R-Connecticut, 1969-1971)

John V. Tunney (B.A. 1956) – U.S. Senator (Democrat-California, 1971-1977); U.S. Congressman (Democrat-California, 1965-1971)

Robert Taft, Jr. (B.A. 1939) – U.S. Senator (Republican-Ohio, 1971-1976); U.S. Congressman (Republican-Ohio, 1963-1965, 1967-1971)

John Jarman (B.A. 1937) – U.S. Congressman (Democrat/Republican-Oklahoma, 1951-1977)

William S. Mailliard (B.A. 1939) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-California, 1953-1974)

Thomas William Ludlow "Lud" Ashley (B.A. 1948, S&B 1948) – U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Ohio, 1955-1981)

William S. Moorhead Jr. (B.A. 1945, S&B 1945) – U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Pennsylvania, 1959-1981)

Donald Jay Irwin (B.A. 1951, LL.B. 1954) – U.S. Congressman (D-Conn., 1959-1961, 1965-1969); Mayor of Norwalk, Connecticut (1971-1975)

Rogers C.B. Morton (B.A. 1937) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Maryland, 1963-1971); U.S. Secretary of the Interior (1971-1975)

\*Ogden Rogers Reid (B.A. 1949) – U.S. Congressman (Republican/Democrat-New York, 1963-1975)

\*Jonathan Brewster Bingham (B.A. 1936, S&B 1936) – U.S. Congressman (Democrat-New York, 1965-1983)

Philip Edward Ruppe (B.A. 1948) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Michigan, 1967-1979)

\*George H.W. Bush (B.A. 1948; S&B 1948) – U.S. Congressman (R-Texas, 1967-1971); U.S. Representative to United Nations (1971-1973)

James Wadsworth Symington (B.A. 1950) – U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Missouri, 1969-1977); Chief of Protocol for White House (1966-68)

Robert Lawrence Coughlin (B.A. 1950) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Pennsylvania, 1969-1993); Pennsylvania State Senator (1967-1969)

\*Henry John Heinz III (B.A. 1960) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Pennsylvania, 1971-1977)

\*Leslie (Les) Aspin (B.A. 1960) – U.S. Congressman (Democrat-Wisconsin, 1971-1993)

Potter Stewart (B.A. 1937, LL.B. 1941, S&B 1937) – Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1958-1981)

John Joseph Smith (B.A. 1925, LL.B. 1927) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (1960-1971)

Robert P. Anderson (B.A. 1927) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (1964-1971)

Gerhard A. Gesell (B.A. 1932) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia (1967-1993)

Charles Henry Tenney (B.A. 1933, LL.B. 1936, S&K 1933) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York (1963-1979)

Robert C. Zampano (B.A. 1951; LL.B. 1954) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Connecticut (1964-1977)

Alexander Harvey II (B.A., 1947) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Maryland (1966-1991)

Henry Putzel Jr. (B.A. 1935, LL.B. 1938) – U.S. Supreme Court Reporter of Decisions (1964-1979)

Gilbert Stroud Merritt Jr. (B.A. 1957) – U.S. Attorney for the Middle District of Tennessee (1966-1969)

William Charles Lee (B.A. 1959) – U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Indiana (1970-1973)

William Grawn Milliken (B.A. 1946) – Governor of Michigan (1969-1983); Lieutenant Governor of Michigan (1965-1969)

Richard B. Ogilvie (B.A. 1947) – Governor of Illinois (1969-1973); Sheriff of Cook County [Chicago], Illinois (1963-1967)

\*William W. Scranton (B.A. 1939, J.D. 1946) – Governor of Pennsylvania (1963-1967)

\*John V. Lindsay (B.A. 1944, S&K 1944) – Mayor of New York City (1966-1973)

Robert W. Sweet (B.A. 1944; LL.B. 1948) – Deputy Mayor of New York City (1966-1969); Partner of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom [law firm in New York City] (1970-1977)

Pete Wilson (B.A. 1956) – Mayor of San Diego, California (1971-1983); Member of the California Assembly (1966-1971)

Howard S. Cullman (B.A. 1913) – Chairman of Port of New York Authority (1945-55); Commissioner of Port of New York Authority (1927-1972)

Newton Ivan Steers, Jr. (B.A. 1939; J.D. 1948) – Maryland State Insurance Commissioner (1967-1970)

Eric van Cortlandt Stevenson (B.A. 1947; LL.B. 1950) – General Counsel of Peace Corps (1966-1968)

Bankers:

\*William McChesney Martin Jr. (B.A. 1928) – Chairman of the Federal Reserve (April 2, 1951-January 31, 1970)

\*Alfred Hayes (B.A. 1930) – President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (August 1, 1956-August 1, 1975); Chairman of the Economic Club of New York (1965-1966)

James Stillman Rockefeller (B.A. 1924, S&K 1924) – Chairman of the board of National City Bank of New York [Citibank] (1959-1967)

\*George S. Moore (B.S. 1927) – Chairman of the board of National City Bank of New York [Citibank] (1967-1970)

\*Herbert P. Patterson (B.S. 1948) – Executive Vice President (1965-1969) and President (1969-1972) of Chase Manhattan Bank

Prescott S. Bush (B.A. 1917; S&B 1917) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1931-1972); U.S. Senator (1952-1963)

\*Knight Woolley (B.A. 1917; S&B 1917) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1931-1982)

\*Robert A. Lovett (B.A. 1918, S&B 1918) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1953-1986); U.S. Secretary of Defense (1951-1953)

Stephen Y. Hord (B.A. 1921, S&B 1921) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1945-1981)

\*Thomas McCance (B.A. 1925) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1945-1979)

Moreau Delano Brown (B.A. 1926) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1939-1974)

John Beckwith Madden (B.A. 1941, S&B 1941) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1955-1988)

\*R.L. Ireland III (B.A. 1942) – Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1960-c.1994)

Robert Lehman (B.A. 1913) – Partner of Lehman Brothers (1925-1969)

Joseph Albert Thomas (B.A. 1928, S&K 1928) – Partner of Lehman Brothers (1937-1977)

\*John M. Schiff (B.A. 1925) – Partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. (1931-1977)

\*Arthur G. Altschul (B.A. 1943) – Partner of Goldman, Sachs & Co. (1959-1977)  
\*Grinnell Morris (B.A. 1932) – Vice Chairman of Bank of New York (1966-1968); President of Empire Trust Co. (1963-1966)  
\*John I. Howell (B.A. 1939) – former Chairman of the board of J. Henry Schroder Banking Corp.  
\*Alfred Brittain III (B.A. 1945) – President of Banker's Trust Co. (1966-1975)  
Lewis Abbot Lapham (B.A. 1931, S&B 1931) – Vice Chairman of Bankers Trust Co. (1966-1974)  
\*Charles Edwin Lord (B.A. 1949, S&B 1949) – Chairman of the board of Allied Bank International (1968-1976)  
Vance Van Dine (B.A. 1949, S&B 1949) – Partner of Morgan Stanley & Co. (1963-1975)  
Dean Witter Jr. (B.A. 1944, S&B 1944) – Partner of Dean Witter & Co. (1946-1970)  
\*Nicholas F. Brady (B.A. 1952) – President and CEO of Dillon, Read & Co. (1971-1982); Vice President of Dillon, Read & Co. (1961-1971)  
\*Richard P. Cooley (B.S. 1944) – President and CEO of Wells Fargo Bank (1966-1979)  
William Redmond Cross Jr. (B.A. 1941, S&B 1941) – Senior Vice President of Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. (1964-1973)  
\*Robert Van Cleef Lindsay (B.A. 1949) – Vice President (1960-1969) and Senior Vice President (1969-1976) of Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.  
\*Evan G. Galbraith (B.A. 1950; S&B 1950) – Vice President of Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. (1961-1969); Chairman of Bankers Trust International (1969-1975)  
\*Daniel P. Davison (B.A. 1949, S&B 1949) – Vice President of Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. (1961-1973)  
Charles Welles Buek (B.A. 1933) – President (1962-1974) and Chairman (1974-1976) of U.S. Trust Co. of New York  
George Harold Pfau Jr. (B.S. 1948, S&B 1948) – Member of White Weld & Co. Inc. [San Francisco branch] (1957-1978)  
Wilbur Louis Ross Jr. (B.A. 1959) – President of Faulkner, Dawkins and Sullivan Securities Corp. [New York City] (1964-1976)  
\*Harry P. Barrand Jr. (B.A. 1944) – Executive Vice President of banking department at Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. (1966-1970)  
\*Roger D. Stone (B.A. 1955) – Vice Pres. of International Dept. at Chase Manhattan Bank (1970-1974); Asst. to Pres. of Time, Inc. (1968-70)  
Charles B. Johnson (B.A. 1954) – Chairman of the board of Franklin Resources, Inc. [now called Franklin Templeton Investments] (1969-pres.)  
Jacques Ralph Stunzi (B.A. 1942) – Executive Vice President of Continental Bank International [New York City] (1962-1968); Vice Chairman of Allied Bank International [New York City] (1968-1973)  
Roger Conant Damon (B.A. 1929) – Chairman and CEO of First National Bank of Boston (1966-1971); President of First National Bank of Boston (1959-1966); director of Raytheon  
Frank Wells McCabe (B.A. 1925) – Chairman of the board of National Commercial Bank & Trust Co. [Albany, New York] (1964-1973)  
Eliot G. Fitch (B.A. 1918) – President of Marine National Exchange Bank of Milwaukee (1942-1992)  
Frederic Augustus Potts (B.A. 1926) – Chairman of the board of Philadelphia National Bank (1964-1969)  
Gardner Dominick Stout (B.A. 1926) – Partner of Dominick & Dominick [investment firm in New York City] (1926-1968)  
\*William Frederick Machold (Ph.B. 1927) – Partner of Drexel & Co. [investment bank in Philadelphia] (1949-1966); Vice President of Drexel Harriman Ripley, Inc. [Philadelphia] (1966-1972)  
Bradford Arnold Warner (B.A. 1932) – Senior Vice President of Belgian-American Bank & Trust Co. (1962-1968); Senior Vice President of European-American Bank & Trust Co. (1968-1975)  
Richard Ambler Liggett (Ph.B. 1925) – Chairman of the board of First National Bank of Tampa [Florida] (1955-c.1972)  
Samuel Torbitt Castleman (B.A. 1943) – Senior Vice President Wachovia Bank & Trust Co. [Winston-Salem, NC] (1958-1968); Senior Vice President of American Security & Trust Co. [Washington, D.C.] (1968-1971)  
Eugene Hale Adams (B.A. 1934) – Class A Director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City (1964-1969); President of International Trust Company [Denver] (1951-1958); President (1959-1973) and Chairman (1973-1977) of the First National Bank of Denver  
Edward Byron Smith (B.A. 1932) – Class A Director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago (1970-1975); President of Northern Trust Company [Chicago] (1957-1963); Chairman of the board of Northern Trust Company [Chicago] (1963-1978)  
James Henry Higgins (B.A. 1939) – Vice President (1954-1965), Senior Vice President (1965-1968), Executive Vice President (1968-1971), President (1971-1974), and Chairman and CEO (1974-1981) of Mellon National Bank & Trust Co. [Pittsburgh]  
David James Laub (B.A. 1932) – President of Marine Midland Trust Co. [bank in Buffalo, New York] (1968-1972)  
Everett Ware Smith (B.S. 1936) – Senior Vice President (1959-1964) and Vice Chairman (1964-1968) of New England Merchants National Bank [Boston]  
John Edward Drick (B.S. 1934) – Executive Vice President (1965-1969) and President (1969-1974) of First National Bank of Chicago  
Robert James Lewis (B.A. 1921) – Partner of Estabrook & Co. [New York City] (1931-1968); Limited Partner of Clark, Dodge & Co. (1968-1974); Member of the Board of Governors of the New York Stock Exchange (1960-1966)  
Brooks Banker (B.A. 1952, LL.B. Harvard 1957) – Executive Vice President (1968-1976), Vice President (1966-1968) and Treasurer (1964-1966, 1968-1972) of American Express Company  
Pomeroy Day (B.A. 1928; LL.B. 1931) – Chairman of the board (1966-1970) and President (1961-1966) of Connecticut Bank & Trust Co.  
Edward McCrady Gaillard (B.A. 1919) – Chairman of the board of Union & New Haven Trust Co. (1963-1968)  
Donald Roderick Welles (B.A. 1927) – Senior Vice President of Wilmington Trust Co. [bank in Wilmington, Delaware] (1958-1969)  
Ernest Patton (B.A. 1920) – Chairman of the board of Peoples National Bank [Greenville, South Carolina] (1948-1969)  
Burt Russell Shurly Jr. (B.A. 1934) – Vice President of Detroit Bank & Trust Co. [Detroit, Michigan] (1951-1970)  
Fred George Theuer (B.A. 1949) – Executive Vice President of Saginaw (Michigan) Savings & Loan Association (1965-1970); President of Saginaw (Michigan) Savings & Loan Association (1971-c.1977)

#### Businessmen:

Joseph F. Cullman III (B.A. 1935) – Chairman of the board and CEO of Philip Morris Company [i.e. Marlboro cigarettes] (1967-1978)  
\*Henry John Heinz II (B.A. 1931, S&B 1931) – Chairman of the board of H.J. Heinz Company [i.e. H.J. Heinz ketchup] (1959-1987)  
\*J. Irwin Miller (B.A. 1931) – Chairman of the board of Cummins Engine Co. (1951-1977)  
\*James H. Binger (B.A. 1938) – Chairman of the board and CEO of Honeywell, Inc. (1965-1978)  
\*Juan Terry Trippe (Ph.B. 1921) – Chairman and CEO of Pan American World Airways, Inc. (1964-1968)  
H. Mansfield Horner (B.S. 1926) – Chairman and CEO of United Aircraft Corporation (1956-1983)  
Stewart Shaw Cort (B.A. 1934) – President (1963-1971) and Chairman and CEO (1971-1980) of Bethlehem Steel Corp.  
\*Joseph Richardson Dilworth (B.A. 1938, LL.B. 1942, S&B 1938) – Chairman of the board of Rockefeller Center, Inc. (1966-1982)  
\*Robert S. Ingersoll (B.S. 1937) – Chairman and CEO of Borg-Warner Corp. (1961-1972); U.S. Ambassador to Japan (1972-1973); President of The Economic Club of Chicago (1967-1969)  
\*John E. Bierwirth (B.A. 1917) – Chairman and CEO of National Distillers & Chemical Corp. (1958-1970)  
\*Robert Guthrie Page (B.A. 1922, S&B 1922) – Chairman of the board of Phelps Dodge Corporation (1967-1970)  
John Hancock Daniels (B.A. 1943, S&B 1943) – Chairman of the board of Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. (1967-1972)

Gaylord Donnelley (B.A. 1931, S&B 1931) – Chairman of the board of R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co. [Chicago] (1964-1975); Trustee of University of Chicago (1947-1980)

Gordon Grand, Jr. (B.A. 1938, S&K 1938) – Chairman (1966-1967) and President and CEO (1965-1972) of Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp.

Downing Bland Jenks (B.S. 1937) – Chairman (1972-1983) and President (1961-1972) of Missouri Pacific Railroad [St. Louis]; Chairman of the board of Texas & Pacific Railroad (1968-c.1976); Chairman of the board of Chicago & Eastern Illinois Railroad (1969-c.1976)

John Shedd Reed (B.S. 1939) – President (1967-78), CEO (1968-82), and Chairman (1973-1983) of Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway

Henry Stuart Harrison (B.A. 1932) – President and Chief Executive Officer of Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Co. (1961-1977)

\*Joseph Peter Grace, Jr. (B.A. 1936, S&K 1936) – President and CEO of W.R. Grace & Co. (1945-1981)

Horace Havemeyer, Jr. (B.A. 1936, S&K 1936) – President (1948-1966) and Chairman (1966-1968) of National Sugar Refining Co. [NYC]

Kempton Dunn (B.S. 1931) – Chairman of the board (1963-1969) and CEO (1957-1969) of American Brake Shoe Co. [New York City]

Thomas Mellon Evans (B.S. 1931) – Chairman and CEO of Crane Co. [paper company] (1959-1984)

Charles Denston Dickey, Jr. (B.A. 1940, S&K 1940) – President of Scott Paper Co. (1969-1979)

Frederick Glade Wacker Jr. (B.A. 1940) – Chairman of the board and President of Ammco Tools, Inc. [North Chicago, Illinois] (1948-1987)

\*William H. "Bill" Donaldson (B.A. 1953, S&B 1953) – Chairman and CEO of Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, Inc. [New York City] (1959-1973)

Olcott D. Smith (B.A. 1929) – Chairman of the board of Aetna Life & Casualty Cos. [insurance company] (1963-c.1972)

Thomas Eugene Lovejoy Jr. (Ph.B. 1928) – Chairman of the board and CEO of Manhattan Life Insurance Co. (1966-1977)

\*Percy Chubb II (Ph.B. 1931) – Chairman of the board of Federal Insurance Co. (1964-1970)

Robert L. McNeil Jr. (B.S. 1936) – Chairman of the board of Petroleum Laboratories, Inc. [Philadelphia] (1968-c.1970); Chairman of the board of McNeil Laboratories (1956-1964)

\*Hoyt Ammidon (B.A. 1932) – Vice Chairman of Port Authority of New York (1970-1972); Chairman and CEO of U.S. Trust Co. (1962-1974)

\*Arthur K. Watson (B.A. 1942) – Chairman of IBM World Trade Corporation (1963-1970); U.S. Ambassador to France (1970-1972)

\*Malcolm A. MacIntyre (B.A. 1929) – President of Chemical Division of Martin Marietta Corp. (1965-1972); Under Sec. of Air Force (1957-59)

\*Richard M. Bissell Jr. (B.A. 1932, Ph.D. 1939) – Director of Marketing and Economic Planning at United Aircraft Corp. (1964-1974)

Daniel Crow Searle (B.S. 1950) – President of G.D. Searle & Co. [chemical company] (1966-1977)

\*Brooks McCormick (B.A. 1940) – President of International Harvester Company (1968-1977)

\*Henry B. Schacht (B.S. 1956) – Vice President of Cummins Engine Co. (1964-1969); President of Cummins Engine Co. (1969-1977)

\*John C. Bierwirth (B.A. 1947) – Vice President (1958-1969) and Executive Vice President (1969-1972) of National Distillers & Chemical Corp.

\*William W. Boeschenstein (B.S. 1950) – Executive Vice President of Owens-Corning Fiberglass Corp. (1967-1971)

\*Thomas Wright Russell Jr. (B.A. 1939) – President (1968-1970) and Chairman and CEO (1970) of American Brake Shoe Co. [Abex Corp.]

C. William Verity Jr. (B.A. 1939) – President and CEO (1965-1971) and Chairman of the board (1971-1982) of Armco Steel Company

Edward Foster Swift 3rd (B.A. 1945, S&K 1945) – Executive Vice President of Swift & Co. [meat packing company] (1964-1975)

Wilmot Fitch Wheeler Jr. (B.A. 1945, S&K 1945) – Chairman and CEO of American Chain & Cable Co., Inc. [New York City] (1967-1976)

\*Richard L. Gelb (B.A. 1945) – President of Bristol-Myers Co. (1967-1976)

\*David L. Luke III (B.A. 1945) – President (1962-1980) and CEO (1963-1988) of Westvaco Corp. [paper company]

David Livingston Francis (B.A. 1937) – Chairman of the board of Princess Coals, Inc. (1963-1968)

Tecumseh Sherman Fitch (B.S. 1931) – Chairman of the board of Washington Steel Corp. [Pennsylvania] (1945-1969)

James G. Fox Jr. (B.S. 1926) – President of Allied Chemical Corp. (1959-c.1972)

Louis S. Rothschild (Ph.B. 1920) – President of Transport Equities Corporation (1958-1961, 1965-1984)

Louis Frederick Polk Jr. (B.S. 1954) – President and CEO of Metro-Goldwyn Mayer, Inc. (1968-1969); Comptroller of General Mills (1961-68)

John C. Duncan (B.A. 1942) – Executive Vice President of W.R. Grace & Co. (1964-1970)

Gilfry Ward (B.S. 1928, Bohemian Grove) – Vice President of American Brake Shoe Co. [Abex Corp.] (1957-1970)

William Adams Dunbar (B.A. 1929) – Comptroller (1956-1966) and Treasurer (1966-1969) of General Reinsurance Corp. [New York City]

Clive Runnels (B.A. 1948) – Vice President of Commerce Fund, Inc. [Houston, Texas] (1960-c.1972)

John David Kirkland (B.A. 1955, LL.B. 1958) – Vice President (1967-1973) and Executive Vice President (1973-1978) of Pennzoil Co.

William Robert Orthwein Jr. (B.A. 1938) – former Vice President of McDonnell Douglas Corporation (circa 1960s)

John Digney Leary (B.A. 1933, LL.B. 1936) – Vice President for Personnel at Chrysler Corp. (1958-1963); Vice President for Administration at Chrysler Corp. (1963-1974); director of Chrysler Corp. (1959-1974)

John Ambrose Ford (B.A. 1941) – Vice President for Public Relations at Chrysler Corp. (1963-c.1974)

Robert Upjohn Redpath Jr. (B.A. 1928) – life underwriter for Lawyers Mortgage Co. [New York City] (1933-1987)

Fred Rollin White Jr. (B.A. 1935) – Senior Vice President of Oglebay Norton Co. [Cleveland, Ohio] (1959-1978)

\*Philip C. Jessup Jr. (B.A. 1949) – Chief Legal Officer and Secretary of Inco Europe Ltd. [London] (1968-1972); President and Managing Director of P.T. International Nickel Indonesia [Jakarta] (1972-1978)

Samuel Reid Sutphin (B.A. 1934) – Chairman of Beveridge Paper Co. [Indianapolis] (1958-1969)

Richard Sutton Bull Jr. (B.A. 1948, J.D. 1951) – Chairman of the board of Bradner Central Co. [Chicago] (1966-c.1990)

Horace Reynolds Moorhead (Ph.B. 1929, S&K 1929) – Treasurer of Gulf Oil Corp. (1948-c.1972)

Joseph Elliott Muckley (B.A. 1930) – Executive Vice President of Martin Marietta Corp. [New York City] (1966-1973)

John Ward Seabury (B.S. 1943) – Vice President of Marsh & McLennan, Inc. [Chicago] (1956-1976)

George T. French (B.A. 1933) – Senior Vice President of Deere & Co. (1963-1968)

Robert Cushing Winters (B.A. 1953) – Vice President for actuary at Prudential Insurance Co. of America (1969-1975)

Francis Fitz Randolph (B.A. 1911, S&B 1911) – Senior Partner of J&W Seligman & Co. (1940-1973)

George Herbert Walker Jr. (B.A. 1927, S&B 1927) – General Partner of G.H. Walker & Co. [firm in New York City] (1929-1974)

George Herbert Walker III (B.A. 1953, S&B 1953) – General Partner of G.H. Walker & Co. (1961-1974)

Jonathan J. Bush (B.A. 1953, S&B 1953) – General Partner of G.H. Walker & Co. (1960-1970)

John Davock Warren (B.A. 1927, S&B 1927) – General Partner of G.H. Walker & Co. [firm in New York City] (1944-1974)

John C. Farrar (B.A. 1918, S&B 1918) – Chairman of the board of Farrar, Straus & Giroux [publishing firm in New York City] (1946-1974)

John Warner Field (B.A. 1937, S&B 1937) – President and CEO of Warnaco, Inc. (1957-1974)

Frank A. Sprole (B.A. 1942, S&B 1942) – Vice President of Bristol-Myers Co. (1965-1973)

\*William H. Draper III (B.A. 1950, S&B 1950) – Founder and General Partner of Sutter Hill Ventures [firm in Palo Alto, California] (1965-1981)

Russell W. Meyer Jr. (B.A. 1954, S&B 1954) – President and CEO of Grumman America Aviation Corp. [Cleveland, Ohio] (1966-1974)

Robert Haigh Gow (B.A. 1955, S&B 1955) – President of Zapata [Oil] Corp. (1964-1970)

Morgan Hovey Harris Jr. (B.A. 1954) – Vice President of White Weld & Co. Inc. [Los Angeles branch] (1965-1971)

Harold H. Hines Jr. (B.A. 1948) – Vice President and Executive Vice President of Marsh and McLennan, Inc. Chicago (1969-1979)

Kenneth H. Hannan (B.A. 1933, LL.B. 1936) – Executive Vice President (1956-1969) and Vice Chairman (1969-1971) of Union Carbide Corporation; Class C Director and Deputy Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1966-1968)  
Fritz Carleton Hyde Jr. (B.A. 1933) – President of Revere Copper & Brass, Inc. [metal manufacturing in New York City] (1965-1971)  
Alfred White Van Sinderen (B.A. 1945) – President (1967-1982) and Chairman (1982-1985) of Southern New England Telephone Company  
Henry Waters Taft (B.A. 1947) – Treasurer (1962-1966), Vice President (1966-1969), and Exec. Vice Pres. (1969-1973) of Bristol-Myers Co.  
Henry White Gadsden (B.S. 1933) – President (1965-1971) and Chairman and CEO (1971-1976) of Merck & Co., Inc. [pharmaceutical firm]  
William Alexander Kirkpatrick (B.A. 1944) – Controller (1960-1968), Vice President for Finance (1968-1973), and Vice President for Administration (1973-1979) of Allegheny Ludlum Industries, Inc. [steel company in Pittsburgh]  
Reuel Edward Warriner (B.A. 1933) – Vice President for sales at American Metal Climax, Inc. (1954-1968); Vice President for nickel project at American Metal Climax, Inc. (1968-1972)  
James Barton Elliott (B.A. 1935) – Secretary of American Sugar Co. [New York City] (1955-1965)  
Robert George Wiese (B.A. 1925) – Partner of Scudder, Stevens & Clark [investment firm in Boston] (1936-1978)  
Sidney Walter Dean Jr. (B.A. 1926) – President of Ventures Development Co. [New York City] (1961-c.1997)  
Crosby Wells (B.A. 1946) – Legal Officer for International Nickel Co, Inc. [New York City] (1961-1973)  
Robert Forbes Niven (B.A. 1932) – Secretary of Union Oil Co. (1947-1972); Member of the Bohemian Club in San Francisco  
Frank A. Sherer (B.A. 1932) – Executive Vice President of Interpublic Group of Companies, Inc. [New York City] (1961-1967)  
A Thomas Taylor (B.A. 1932) – director of Ford Motor Co. (c. 1965); former Chairman of Deltec International Corporation  
Allen Ledyard Lindley (B.A. 1932) – Vice President and Treasurer (1952-1961); Senior Vice President (1961-1967), Executive Vice President (1967-1972), and Vice Chairman (1972-1978) of Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York  
John Denis Joseph Moore (B.A. 1932, LL.B. 1935) – Vice President of W.R. Grace & Co. (1952-1969); U.S. Ambassador to Ireland (1969-1975); Vice Chairman of the Council of the Americas (1964-1969)  
Henry Holloway Scudder (B.A. 1917) – President (1957-1960) and Vice Chairman of (1960-c.1970) of International Standard Electric Corp. [New York City]  
Alexander Coutts Stewart (B.A. 1945) – Treasurer of Collins & Altman Corp. [textile company in New York City] (1960-1966); Vice President for finance of Collins & Altman Corp. (1966-1979)  
William M. Day (B.A. 1927) – President (1956-1968) and Chairman of the board and CEO (1968) of Michigan Bell Telephone Co. [Detroit]  
John M.K. Davis (B.A. 1929) – President of Connecticut Printers Inc. [Hartford, Connecticut] (1952-c.1972)  
Richard C. Doane (B.A. 1919) – Chairman of the board (1961-1967) and President (1954-1959) of International Paper Co. [New York City]  
Frank Courtenay Dodd (B.A. 1897) – Chairman of the board of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc. [publishing company in New York City] (1942-1968)  
Edward Howard Dodd Jr. (B.A. 1928) – Chairman of the board of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc. [publishing company in New York City] (1966-1976); President of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc. [publishing company in New York City] (1953-1957); Chairman of the editorial board of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc. [publishing company in New York City] (1957-1966)  
Ross Randolph Millhiser (B.A. 1941) – Executive Vice President for Marketing at Philip Morris, Inc. (1965-1966); President of Philip Morris U.S.A. (1966-1973); President of Philip Morris, Inc. (1973-1978); Vice Chairman of Philip Morris, Inc. (1978-1985); Member of the board of directors of Philip Morris, Inc. [i.e. Marlboro cigarettes] (1963-1987); prisoner-of-war during World War II (captured by the Nazis)

#### Lawyers:

\*Charles M. Spofford (B.A. 1924; S&B 1924) – Member of Davis, Polk & Wardwell [law firm in New York City] (1940-1950, 1952-1973)  
Charles Hastings Willard (B.A. 1926, S&B 1926) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1950-1973)  
Edward Rogers Wardwell (B.A. 1927, S&B 1927) – Member of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1946-c.1972)  
\*Samuel Hazard Gillespie Jr. (B.A. 1932, LL.B. 1936, S&B 1932) – Member of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1948-2011)  
Morton Fearey (B.A. 1935; LL.B. 1938, S&K 1935) – Member of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1951-c.1974)  
\*Peter O.A. Solbert (B.A. 1941, S&B 1941) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1957-1963, 1965-1989)  
Edward Snover Reid III (B.A. 1951, S&B 1951) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1964-1995)  
Robert B. Fiske, Jr. (B.A. 1952) – Partner of Davis, Polk & Wardwell (1964-present)  
\*Eli Whitney Debevoise (B.A. 1921) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton [law firm in New York City] (1931-1990)  
\*George N. Lindsay (B.A. 1941) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1955-1990)  
\*Harold H. Healy Jr. (B.A. 1943, S&B 1943) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1959-1989)  
\*Robert B. von Mehren (B.A. 1943) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1957-1993)  
\*William B. Matteson (B.A. 1950) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1961-1998)  
George B. Adams (B.A. 1952) – Partner of Debevoise & Plimpton (1966-1997)  
\*George Roberts (B.A. 1905, LL.B. Harvard 1908) – Partner of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts [law firm in New York City] (1914-1968)  
James William Husted (B.A. 1918) – Partner of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts (1930-1969)  
John Baker Jessup (B.A. 1942, S&B 1942) – Partner of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts (1959-1993)  
Endicott Peabody Davison (B.A. 1945, S&B 1945) – Partner of Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts (1959-1980)  
Chauncey Brewster Garver (B.A. 1908, S&K 1908) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling [law firm in New York City] (1917-1973)  
\*Robert Huntington Knight (B.A. 1940) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling (1955-1958, 1962-1985)  
William Rockefeller (B.A. 1940) – Partner of Shearman & Sterling (1957-1990)  
Richard S. Storrs (B.A. 1932) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell [law firm in New York City] (1945-1980)  
Stephen K. West (B.A. 1950) – Partner of Sullivan & Cromwell (1964-1997)  
\*Roswell L. Gilpatric (B.A. 1928, LL.B. 1931) – Partner of Cravath, Swaine & Moore (1953-1961, 1964-1977); Deputy Secretary of Defense (1961-1964); Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (1972-1975)  
Daniel Gleason Tenney Jr. (B.A. 1935, LL.B. 1938, S&K 1935) – Partner of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy (1948-c.1983)  
\*William Eldred Jackson (B.A. 1941, S&B 1941) – Partner of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy (1954-1999)  
Allen Evarts Foster (B.A. 1906) – Partner of Lord, Day & Lord [law firm in New York City] (1919-c.1970)  
Sherman Baldwin (B.A. 1919, S&B 1919) – Member of Lord, Day & Lord (1929-1969)  
Louis Melville Loeb (B.A. 1919) – Partner of Lord, Day & Lord (1948-1972); General Counsel of The New York Times Co. (1948-1967)  
John Dorsey Garrison (B.A. 1931, LL.B. 1934) – Member of Lord, Day & Lord (1943-1980)  
Garrard Wood Glenn (B.A. 1933, S&K 1933) – Partner of Lord, Day & Lord (1948-1954, 1958-c.1974)  
Charles R. Walker III (B.A. 1951, LL.B. 1954) – Member of Lord, Day & Lord (1956-1994)  
John Archer Gifford (B.A. 1922, S&K 1922) – Partner of White & Case [law firm in New York City] (1937-1972)  
\*Alfred Ogden (B.A. 1932, S&B 1932) – Partner of Alexander & Green [law firm in New York City] (1955-1975)

\*Manuel R. Angulo (B.A. 1939) – Partner of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle [law firm in New York City] (1961-c.1993)  
Allen Skinner Hubbard (B.A. 1911, S&K 1911) – Partner of Hughes, Hubbard & Reed [law firm in New York City] (1937-1981)  
\*Orville H. Schell, Jr. (B.A. 1930) – Partner of Hughes, Hubbard & Reed (1942-1987)  
Thomas Thacher (B.A. 1938; LL.B. 1942, S&K 1938) – Partner of Patterson, Belknap & Webb [law firm in New York City] (1964-1984)  
Donald Schapiro (B.A. 1944; LL.B. 1949) – Partner of Barrett, Smith, Schapiro, Simon & Armstrong [law firm in New York City] (1955-1988)  
Robert Todd Lang (B.A. 1945) – Partner of Weil, Gotshal & Manges [law firm in New York City] (1956-present)  
John Carey (B.A. 1947, S&B 1945W) – Partner of Coudert Brothers [law firm in New York City] (1961-1987)  
\*Donald H. Rivkin (B.A. 1948; J.D. 1952) – Member of Rivkin, Sherman and Levy [law firm in New York City] (1959-1984)  
Paul C. Lambert (B.A. 1950, S&B 1950) – Partner of Breed, Abbott & Morgan [law firm in New York City] (1966-1990)  
C. Dickerman Williams (B.A. 1922, LL.B. 1924) – Partner of Baker, Nelson, Williams & Mitchell [law firm in New York City] (1962-1974)  
Harris John Ashton (B.A. 1954) – Partner of Lovejoy, Wasson, Lundgren & Ashton [law firm in New York City] (1964-1975)  
Ethan A. Hitchcock (B.A. 1931, S&K 1931) – Partner of Webster, Sheffield, Fleischmann, Hitchcock & Brookfield [New York City] (1961-1983)  
Frank Herbert Prem Jr. (B.A. 1953) – Partner of Whitman & Ransom [law firm in New York City] (1967-1993)  
Sidney Wetmore Davidson (B.A. 1916; J.D. 1918) – Member of Davidson, Dawson & Clark [law firm in New York City] (1949-1974)  
\*Jerome S. Hess (B.A. 1903) – Member of Hardin, Hess & Eder [law firm in New York City] (1907-1970); Member of Hardin, Hess & Suarez [law firm in Mexico City] (1921-1970)  
\*Dean G. Acheson (B.A. 1915; S&K 1915) – Member of Covington & Burling [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1953-1971); fmr. U.S. Sec of State  
\*Lloyd N. Cutler (B.A. 1936) – Partner of Wilmer Cutler Pickering [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1962-1979, 1981-1990)  
John D. Hawke Jr. (B.A. 1954) – Partner of Arnold & Porter [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1967-1975, 1978-1995, 2004-present)  
H. Stewart Dunn Jr. (B.A. 1951) – Partner of Ivins, Phillips & Barker [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1962-c.2002)  
Roger Robb (B.A. 1928, LL.B. 1931) – Partner of Robb, Porter, Kistler & Parkinson [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1951-1969)  
Thomas M. Debevoise (B.A. 1950) – Partner of Debevoise & Liberman [law firm in Washington, D.C.] (1965-1974)  
Marcien Jenckes (B.A. 1921, S&B 1921) – Member of Choate, Hall & Stewart [law firm in Boston] (1927-1971)  
Marcus Morton (B.A. 1916) – Member of Hale, Sanderson, Byrnes & Morton [law firm in Boston] (1927-c.1980)  
Richard Wellington McLaren (B.A. 1939; LL.B. 1942) – Member of Chadwell, Keck, Kayser, Ruggles & McLaren [law firm in Chicago] (1950-1969); Assistant U.S. Attorney General for Antitrust Division (1969-1972)  
Merrill Shepard (B.A. 1925) – Partner of Pope, Ballard, Kennedy, Shepard & Fowle [law firm in Chicago] (1936-c.1986)  
Norman Waite (B.A. 1927; LL.B. Harvard 1930) – Partner of Schiff Hardin & Waite [law firm in Chicago] (1940-c.1976)  
George Frederick Baer Appel (B.A. 1924, S&B 1924) – Partner of Townsend, Elliott & Munson [law firm in Philadelphia] (1938-1970)  
Richard Langsdorf Levy (B.A. 1933) – Partner of Dilworth, Paxson, Kalish, Kohn & Levy [law firm in Philadelphia] (1949-c.1976)  
Joseph Martin Jr. (B.A. 1936; LL.B. 1939) – Partner of Pettit & Martin [law firm in San Francisco] (1955-1970, 1973-1995); General Counsel of Federal Trade Commission (1970-1971); U.S. Representative to the Disarmament Conference [Geneva, Switzerland] (1971-1976)  
James F. Kirkham (B.A. 1954) – Partner of Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro [law firm in San Francisco] (1966-c.1996); member of Bohemian Club  
Robert P. Hastings (B.A. 1933) – Partner of Paul, Hastings, Janofsky & Walker [law firm in Los Angeles] (1946-1981)  
\*Richard Edwin Sherwood (B.A. 1949) – Partner of O'Melveny & Myers [law firm in Los Angeles] (1964-1993); Chairman of Planned Parenthood/World Population Los Angeles (1971-1975)  
Stephen Harding Hart (B.A. 1929) – Partner of Holland & Hart [law firm in Denver] (1947-c.1978); Colorado State Senator (1939-1943)  
Richard Marden Davis (B.A. 1933, S&B 1933) – Partner of Davis, Graham & Stubbs [law firm in Denver] (1937-c.1982)  
Donald Wright Hoagland (B.A. 1942, S&B 1943) – Partner of Davis, Graham & Stubbs [law firm in Denver] (1951-1963, 1966-1987)  
David Everett Wagoner (B.A. 1950) – Partner of Perkins & Coie [law firm in Seattle] (1957-1996)  
Cornelius E. Lombardi Jr. (B.A. 1949) – Member of Blackwell, Sanders, Matheny, Weary & Lombardi [law firm in Kansas City] (1957-1992)  
Henry Cornick Coke (B.A. 1926, LL.B. 1929, S&B 1926) – Member of Coke & Coke [law firm in Dallas, Texas] (1930-1977)  
George Denegre (B.A. 1943) – Partner of Jones, Walker, Weachter, Poievent, Carrere & Denegre [law firm in New Orleans] (1952-2008)  
John Wesley Warrington (B.A. 1936) – Partner of Graydon, Head & Ritchey [law firm in Cincinnati] (1951-1989)  
John Herron More (B.A. 1924) – Partner of Taft, Stettinius & Hollister [law firm in Cincinnati] (1935-1970)  
Seth Chase Taft (B.A. 1943, LL.B. 1948) – Partner of Partner of Jones, Day, Reavis & Pogue [law firm in Cleveland, Ohio] (1959-c.1984)  
Howard Tallmadge Foulkes (B.A. 1911) – Partner of Wickham, Borgelt, Skogstad and Powell [law firm in Milwaukee] (1913-1973)  
Richard Woolsey Cutler (B.A. 1938; LL.B. 1941) – Partner of Quarles & Brady [law firm in Milwaukee] (1954-1987)  
Lucius Franklin Robinson Jr. (B.A. 1918) – Partner of Robinson, Robinson & Cole [law firm in Hartford, Connecticut] (1925-c.1982)  
John Caldwell Parsons (B.A. 1922; LL.B. 1926) – Partner of Robinson, Robinson & Cole [law firm in Hartford, Connecticut] (1931-1973)  
James Wayne Cooper (B.A. 1926; LL.B. 1929) – Partner of Tyler, Cooper, Grant, Bowerman & Keefe [law firm in New Haven, Connecticut] (1935-1989)  
Bayard Ewing (B.A. 1938) – Partner of Tillinghast, Collins & Graham [law firm in Providence, Rhode Island] (1949-c.1984)  
Richard Francis Corroon (B.A. 1935) – Partner of Potter, Anderson & Corroon [law firm in Wilmington, Delaware] (1946-1978)  
\*Malcolm W. Martin (B.A. 1933) – Partner of Peper, Martin, Jensen, Maichel & Hetlage [law firm in St. Louis] (1941-2004); Member (1965-1977) and President (1969-1971) of St. Louis [Missouri] Board of Education; brother of Federal Reserve Chairman William McC. Martin Jr.  
James Murdock Fulton (B.S. 1935, LL.B. 1938) – General Counsel (1961-1974) and Secretary (1970-1976) of Merck & Co. [pharmaceutical]  
David C. Acheson (B.A. 1942, S&B 1943) – General Counsel of Communications Satellite Corp. (1967-1974)  
\*Brooks Thomas (B.A. 1953) – General Counsel of Harper & Row, Publishing, Inc. (1968-1973)  
James C. Goodale (B.A. 1955) – General Counsel of The New York Times Co. (1967-1973)  
Burke Marshall (B.A. 1943, LL.B. 1951) – Vice President and General Counsel of IBM Corp. (1965-1969); Assistant U.S. Attorney General for Civil Rights Division (1961-1965); Professor of Law and Deputy Dean of Yale Law School (1970-1976)  
George Alfred Ranney (B.A. 1934, LL.B. 1939, S&B 1934) – Vice President and General Counsel of Inland Steel Co. [Chicago] (1962-1968)  
John S. Johnson (B.A. 1952, LL.B. 1955) – Vice President, Secretary, and General Counsel of Warnaco Inc. (1970-1977)  
Stanley Burton Feuer (B.A. 1950; LL.B. 1953) – Vice President and General Counsel of Studebaker-Worthington, Inc. (1968-1971); Vice President and General Counsel of GAF Corp. (1971-1974); Vice President and General Counsel of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Inc. (1974-1980)  
Norman Bristol (B.A. 1944) – Secretary (1960-1978), General Counsel (1964-1978), and Senior Vice President (1968-1975) of Kellogg Co.  
Hamlett Harrison (B.A. 1932) – General Counsel (1939-1970) and Executive Vice President (1942-1970) of Trinity Universal Insurance Co. [Dallas, Texas]  
Stanley Elliot Zimmerman (B.A. 1939; J.D. Harvard 1946) – General Counsel (1962-1971) and Secretary (1964-1971) of W.T. Grant Co. [variety store in New York City]

#### Journalists:

\*Henry R. Luce (B.A. 1920; S&B 1920) – Editor-in-Chief of Time, Inc. (1923-1964); founder of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune* magazines  
Henry Luce III (B.A. 1945) – Publisher of *Time* magazine (1969-1972); Publisher of *Fortune* magazine (1968-1969)  
\*John K. Jessup (B.A. 1928) – Chief Editorial Writer of *Life* magazine (1951-1969)  
\*Ralph D. Paine Jr. (B.A. 1929, S&B 1929) – Publisher of *Fortune* magazine (1953-1967)  
\*Hugh D.S. Greenway (B.A. 1958, S&K 1958) – Correspondent for *Time* magazine in Saigon (1967-1968) and Bangkok (1968-1970)  
\*Robert C. Christopher (B.A. 1948) – Foreign Editor (1963-1969) and Executive Editor (1969-1972) of *Newsweek* magazine  
\*William F. Buckley, Jr. (B.A. 1950; S&B 1950) – Editor-in-Chief of *National Review* magazine (1955-1990)  
\*John Hay Whitney (B.A. 1926; S&K 1926) – Publisher and Editor-in-Chief of *New York Herald Tribune* (1961-1966)  
\*Philip L. Geyelin (B.A. 1944) – Editorial Page Editor of *The Washington Post* (1968-1979); Diplomatic correspondent of *The Wall Street Journal* (1960-1967)  
\*David Kruidenier (B.A. 1946) – President and Publisher of *Des Moines Register and Tribune* (1971-1978)  
\*Robert B. Semple Jr. (B.A. 1959) – White House correspondent for *The New York Times* (1968-1972)  
\*Peter B. Grose (B.A. 1957) – Moscow Bureau Chief (1965-1967) and diplomatic correspondent (1967-1970) for *The New York Times*  
Eric Dwight Pace (B.A. 1957) – Member of the staff of *The New York Times* (1965-2004)  
Robert Greeley Kaiser (B.A. 1964) – Correspondent of Saigon Bureau [Vietnam] at *The Washington Post* (1969-1970); Bureau Chief of Moscow Bureau at *The Washington Post* (1971-1974); son of former U.S. Ambassador to Hungary Philip M. Kaiser  
Richard Gerard Valeriani (B.A. 1953) – Correspondent for NBC-TV News in Washington, D.C. (1964-1983)  
James David Atwater (B.A. 1950) – Senior Editor of *Saturday Evening Post* (1966-1969); Special Assistant to the President (1969-1970)  
Stewart J.O. Alsop (B.A. 1936) – Washington Editor of *Saturday Evening Post* (1962-1968); Columnist for *Newsweek* magazine (1968-1974)  
Jack Rohe Howard (B.A. 1932) – President of Scripps-Howard Newspapers (1953-1975); director of Trans World Airlines; Member of the Bohemian Club in San Francisco and Pilgrims Society in New York City  
\*Donald Malcolm Wilson (B.A. 1948) – Chief Far Eastern Correspondent for *Life* magazine (1953-1956); Chief Washington Correspondent for *Life* magazine (1956-1960); Deputy Director of U.S. Information Agency (1961-1965); General Manager of Time-Life International (1965-1968); Associate Publisher of *Life* magazine (1968-1969); Vice President for corporate and public affairs, Time, Inc. (1969-1981)  
Daniel Joseph Mahoney Jr. (B.A. 1950) – President of Dayton Newspapers, Inc. [Dayton, Ohio] (1968-c.1978)  
\*David A. Laventhal (B.A. 1957) – Assistant Managing Editor of *The Washington Post* (1966-1969)

#### Organization Executives:

\*E. Roland Harriman (B.A. 1917; S&B 1917) – Chairman of American Red Cross (1954-1973); Chairman of the board of Union Pacific Railroad Co. (1946-1969); Partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. (1931-1978)  
\*McGeorge Bundy (B.A. 1940; S&B 1940) – President of Ford Foundation (1966-1979); National Security Advisor (1961-1966)  
\*Max F. Millikan (B.S. 1935) – President of World Peace Foundation (1956-1969); Assistant Director of CIA (1951-1952)  
Robert M. Hutchins (B.A. 1921) – Chairman (1959-1974) and President (1975-1977) of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions  
\*Caryl P. Haskins (Ph.B. 1930) – President of Carnegie Institution of Washington (1956-1971)  
\*Alfred Brunson MacChesney III (B.A. 1931) – President of The American Society of International Law (1964-1966)  
\*Bayless Manning (B.A. 1943) – President of the Council on Foreign Relations (1971-1977); Dean of Stanford Law School (1964-1971)  
\*Frank Altschul (B.A. 1908) – Vice President of the Council on Foreign Relations (1951-1971)  
Morris Hadley (B.A. 1916, S&B 1916) – Chairman of Carnegie Corporation of New York (1955-1966)  
\*Frederick Sheffield (B.A. 1924, S&K 1924) – Chairman of Carnegie Corporation of New York (1966-1971)  
Ernest Brooks, Jr. (B.A. 1930, S&K 1930) – President of Old Dominion Foundation [New York City] (1956-1969)  
\*J. Quigg Newton Jr. (B.A. 1933, LL.B. 1936, S&B 1933) – President of The Commonwealth Fund (1963-1975)  
Harold Howe II (B.A. 1940; S&B 1940) – Vice President of Ford Foundation (1971-1981); U.S. Commissioner of Education (1965-1968)  
\*Roger G. Kennedy (B.A. 1949) – Vice President for Financial Affairs at Ford Foundation (1970-1979)  
Walter James McNerney (B.S. 1947) – President of Blue Cross Association [in Chicago] (1961-1977)  
\*George W. Rathjens (B.S. 1946) – Director of weapons systems evaluation division at the Institute of Defense Analyses (1965-1968)  
\*Gustave H. Shubert (B.A. 1948) – Vice President for Domestic Programs of Rand Corp. (1968-1975)  
Scott Adams (B.A. 1930) – Deputy Director of National Library of Medicine [Washington, D.C.] (1960-1969)  
Everett Smith (B.A. 1915) – President of American Bible Society (1962-1967)  
Jeremiah Milbank Jr. (B.A. 1942) – Finance Chairman of Republican National Committee (1969-1972, 1975-1977)  
Frank C. Brophy (B.A. 1917) – Member of the national council of John Birch Society (1961-1978); President, Bank of Douglas [Ariz.] (1935-55)  
Jonathan Goodhue Sherman (B.A. 1929) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Long Island (1966-1977)

#### College Administrators:

\*Kingman Brewster Jr. (B.A. 1941) – President of Yale University (1963-1977)  
Charles Henry Taylor Jr. (B.A. 1950, M.A. 1952, Ph.D. 1955, S&K 1950) – Provost of Yale University (1964-1972)  
Reuben A. Holden (B.A. 1940, S&B 1940) – Secretary of Yale University (1953-1971)  
John Edwin Ecklund (B.A. 1938, S&B 1938) – Treasurer of Yale University (1966-1978)  
William Sloane Coffin Jr. (B.A. 1949; S&B 1949) – Chaplain of Yale University (1958-1976); CIA agent (1950-1953)  
Ray Lorenzo Heffner, Jr. (B.A. 1945, S&K 1945) – President of Brown University (1966-1969)  
\*Douglas M. Knight (B.A. 1942) – President of Duke University (1963-1969)  
Phillip Raymond Shriner (B.A. 1943) – President of Miami University [Ohio] (1965-1981)  
Homer D. Babbidge, Jr. (B.A. 1945, Ph.D. 1953, S&K 1946) – President of the University of Connecticut (1962-1972)  
Thomas Corwin Mendenhall II (B.A. 1932, Ph.D. 1938) – President of Smith College (1959-1975)  
Richard Daniel Weigle (B.A. 1931, Ph.D. 1939) – President of St. John's College [Annapolis, Maryland] (1949-1980)  
John Arthur Logan Jr. (B.A. 1949, Ph.D. 1954) – President of Hollins College [Roanoke, Virginia] (1961-1975)  
Harold B. Whiteman, Jr. (B.A. 1941; Ph.D. 1958, S&K 1941) – President of Sweet Briar College [Virginia] (1971-1983); Vice Chancellor of New York University (1969-1971); Professor of History at New York University (1966-1971)  
Fenton Keyes (B.A. 1937, Ph.D. 1942) – President of Coker College [Hartsville, South Carolina] (1960-1968)  
\*Harvey Brooks (B.A. 1937) – Dean of Engineering and Applied Physics at Harvard University (1957-1975)  
Prosser Gifford (B.A. 1951, S&K 1951) – Dean of Faculty at Amherst College (1967-1979)  
\*William D. Carmichael (B.A. 1950) – Dean of Graduate School of Business and Public Administration at Cornell University (1962-1968)

Joseph Herman Taggart (Ph.B. 1924) – Dean of Graduate School of Business Administration at New York University (1959-1970)

College Professors:

\*John N. Hazard (B.A. 1930) – Professor of Public Law at Columbia University (1946-1977)

\*William L. Cary (B.A. 1931) – Professor of Law at Columbia University (1955-1983)

\*Henry L. Roberts (B.A. 1938) – Professor of History at Columbia University (1956-1967); Professor of History at Dartmouth College (1967-72)

\*A. Doak Barnett (B.A. 1942) – Professor of Political Science at Columbia University (1961-1969)

Willis Livingston Mesier Reese (B.A. 1935; LL.B. 1938) – Charles Evans Hughes Professor of Law at Columbia University (1946-1981)

Allen Tracy Hazen (B.A. 1927, Ph.D. 1935) – Professor of English at Columbia University (1948-1971)

Grant Gilmore (B.A. 1931, Ph.D. 1936, LL.B. 1942) – Professor of Law at Yale University (1946-1965); Professor of Law at University of Chicago (1965-1973); Sterling Professor of Law at Yale University (1973-1978)

Thomas Irwin Emerson (B.A. 1928, LL.B. 1931) – Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1946-1976)

Ralph Sharp Brown Jr. (B.A. 1935; LL.B. 1939) – Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1953-c.1998); Associate Dean of Yale Law School (1965-1970)

Jan Ginter Deutsch (B.A. 1955; Ph.D. 1962; LL.B. 1962, S&K 1955) – Professor of Law at Yale University (1968-2004)

Ralph K. Winter Jr. (B.A. 1957; LL.B. 1960) – Professor of Law at Yale University (1968-1982)

William Jay Willis (B.S. 1954, Ph.D. 1958) – Professor of Physics at Yale University (1964-c.1972)

Lewis Bookwalter Ward (B.A. 1930, Ph.D. 1934) – Professor of Business Research at Harvard University (1959-1974)

\*Samuel P. Huntington (B.A. 1946) – Professor of Government at Harvard University (1962-2008)

\*Jerome A. Cohen (B.A. 1951; J.D. 1955) – Jeremiah J. Smith Professor of Law at Harvard University (1964-1981)

Henry Larkin Terrie Jr. (B.A. 1943) – Professor of English at Dartmouth College (1959-1986)

Richard Whitney Sterling (B.A. 1942, M.A. 1947, Ph.D. 1956) – Professor of Government at Dartmouth College (1962-c.1987)

Lyman B. Spitzer Jr. (B.A. 1935, S&B 1935) – Charles A. Young Professor of Astronomy at Princeton University (1952-1982)

Charles A. Barker (B.A. 1926, Ph.D. 1932) – Professor of American History at Johns Hopkins University (1945-1972)

Francis E. Rourke (B.A. 1947, M.A. 1948) – Professor of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University (1961-1993)

Elias Lynch Rivers (B.A. 1948; M.A. 1950; Ph.D. 1952) – Professor of Spanish at Johns Hopkins University (1964-1978)

Bert Franklin Green Jr. (B.A. 1949) – Professor of Psychology at Johns Hopkins University (1969-1998)

Arthur Stuart Pitt (B.A. 1935, M.A. 1937, Ph.D. 1939) – Professor of English at U.S. Naval Academy (1954-1978)

Bernard Cecil Cohen (B.A. 1948; M.A. 1950; Ph.D. 1952) – Professor of Political Science at University of Wisconsin [Madison] (1963-1990)

Edward V. Gulick (B.A. 1937, M.A. 1942, Ph.D. 1947) – Prof. of European History and Far Eastern History at Wellesley College (1961-c.1976)

Benjamin McLane Spock (B.A. 1925, S&K 1925) – Professor of Child Development at Western Reserve University [Cleveland] (1955-1967)

Everard Mott Williams (B.S. 1936, Ph.D. 1939) – Professor of Engineering at Carnegie Mellon University [Pittsburgh] (1949-1972)

Philip Adrian Wadsworth (B.A. 1935, Ph.D. 1939) – Professor of French at Rice University [Houston, Texas] (1964-1973)

Charles Leslie Stevenson (B.A. 1930) – Professor of Philosophy at University of Michigan (1949-1977)

Otis Arnold Pease (B.A. 1949, Ph.D. 1954, S&K 1949) – Professor of History at the University of Washington [Seattle] (1966-1995)

Robert Stafford Ward (B.A. 1929) – Professor of English at the University of Miami [Florida] (1956-1972)

David Thornton Smith (B.A. 1957) – Professor of Law at University of Florida (1969-2003)

Simon Newcomb Whitney (B.A. 1924, Ph.D. 1931) – Professor of Economics at Rutgers University (1961-1967); Professor of Economics at New York University (1949-1954, 1967-1971); Director of the Bureau of Economics at the Federal Trade Commission (1956-1961)

Anthony Nicholas Brady Garvan (B.A. 1939; Ph.D. 1948, S&K 1939) – Professor of American Civilization at Univ. of Pennsylvania (1960-1987)

Taylor Culbert (B.A. 1939) – Professor of English at Ohio University (1965-1987); Dean of the Graduate College at Ohio University (1965-1970); Provost of Ohio University (1975-1976)

Oswald Garrison Villard Jr. (B.A. 1938) – Professor of Electrical Engineering at Stanford University (1955-1987); Member of United States Air Force Scientific Advisory Board (1961-1975); great-grandson of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison

Doctors (Medicine):

Joseph Vincent Terenzio (B.A. 1939) – Commissioner of Hospitals of New York City (1966-1970)

Harold Edward Harrison (B.S. 1928; M.D. 1931) – Pediatrician-in-Chief of Baltimore City Hospitals (1945-1975)

David Daniel Denker (B.A. 1948; Ph.D. 1951) – President of New York Medical College (1967-1969); Professor of History at Rutgers University (1958-1967)

Albert F. Wessen (B.A. 1948; Ph.D. 1951) – Professor of Sociology at Washington University [in St. Louis] (1965-1970); Professor of Sociology at Brown University (1970-c.1976); Chief of behavioral science unit, World Health Organization (WHO) in Geneva, Switzerland (1967-c.1976)

Robert Straus (B.A. 1943; M.A. 1945; Ph.D. 1947) – Chairman of National Advisory Committee on Alcoholism (1966-1969)

William Edward Laupus (B.S. 1943; M.D. 1945) – Professor of Pediatrics and Chairman of the department at the Medical College of Virginia and Virginia Commonwealth University [Richmond, Virginia] (1963-1975)

Paul Calabresi (B.A. 1951, M.D. 1955) – Professor of Medical Science at Brown University (1968-?); Physician-in-Chief at Roger Williams General Hospital in Providence, Rhode Island (1968-?)

Henry Brill (B.A. Yale 1928, M.D. Yale 1932) – Administrator of New York State Mental Hygiene Research Program (1952-1964); Vice Chairman of New York State Narcotic Addiction Control Commission (1966-1968); Member of the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse (1971-1973); Chairman of the committee of hallucinogenic drugs at FDA-NIMH (1960-1970)

Others:

\*John Forbes Kerry (B.A. 1966, S&B 1966) – Navy Lieutenant during the Vietnam War; prominent anti-Vietnam War activist

George W. Bush (B.A. 1968, S&B 1968) – Lieutenant in the Texas Air National Guard during the Vietnam War; son of George H.W. Bush (B.A. 1948, S&B 1948) and grandson of former U.S. Senator Prescott S. Bush (B.A. 1917, S&B 1917)

\*Barry Zorthian (B.A. 1941; S&B 1941) – Chief U.S. Spokesman and Director of Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office in Saigon (1964-1968); Vice President of Time, Inc. (1969-1979)

Richard Ward Day (B.A. 1938, Ph.D. Harvard 1950) – Principal of Phillips Exeter Academy (1964-1974)

Note: \*=Member of the Council on Foreign Relations; S&B = Skull & Bones; S&K = Scroll & Key

Note: Robert Upjohn Redpath Jr.'s office address was located at 666 Fifth Avenue in New York City.

Note: Joseph F. Cullman III's Philip Morris Co. corporate headquarters was located at 100 Park Avenue in New York City.



From left to right: Army Chief of Staff Gen. Harold K. Johnson, Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor, National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy, President Lyndon B. Johnson, and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara meet to discuss the Vietnam War on July 22, 1965. **Stanley Resor and McGeorge Bundy were Yale graduates.**

(Photo: [Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library](#))

“I’ll tell you, the more I just stayed awake last night, thinking about this thing [Vietnam War], the more I think of it...it looks like to me we’re getting into another Korea. It just worries the hell out of me...and I don’t think it’s worth fighting for and I don’t think we can get out and it’s just the biggest damn mess.”

– U.S. President Lyndon Baines Johnson, May 27, 1964, [in a tape-recorded telephone conversation with National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy](#)



President Lyndon B. Johnson is joined by several of his top advisors to discuss the Vietnam War at Camp David on April 9, 1968. It is believed by some that the meeting was held so as to excuse the president from attending Martin Luther King, Jr.'s funeral. The men depicted are (from left to right): U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Ellsworth Bunker, President Lyndon B. Johnson, Averell Harriman, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Earle Wheeler. **Ellsworth Bunker and Averell Harriman were Yale graduates.** (Wally McNamee/CORBIS)



President Lyndon B. Johnson (left) meets with Council on Foreign Relations members (left to right) Walt Rostow, William Bundy, Cyrus Vance, and former President Dwight Eisenhower aboard Air Force One on April 18, 1968. **Walt Rostow, William Bundy, and Cyrus Vance were Yale graduates.** (Photo: Yoichi R. Okamoto/Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library)



Source: Manuscripts & Archives, Yale University Library  
Produced for reference use only. (mssa.img.6603)

Members of the Yale Corporation in April 1968

Front row, left to right:

Joseph Irwin Miller (**Chairman of the board of Cummins Engine Co.**), John Hay Whitney (**former U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain**), Edwin Foster Blair, Kingman Brewster Jr. (**President of Yale University**), The Reverend Gardiner Mumford Day, Joseph Richardson Dilworth (**Chairman of the board of Rockefeller Center, Inc.**), and Harold Howe II (**U.S. Commissioner of Education**).

Back row, left to right:

William Warren Scranton, The Right Reverend Paul Moore Jr., John Vliet Lindsay (**Mayor of New York City**), William McChesney Martin Jr. (**Chairman of the Federal Reserve**), William Putnam Bundy (**Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs**), Caryl Parker Haskins (**President of Carnegie Institution of Washington**), Frederick Baldwin Adams Jr., William Horowitz, and Spencer Dumaresq Moseley. Absent: Arthur Kittridge Watson (**Chairman of IBM World Trade Corporation**).

Edwin Foster Blair, Joseph Richardson Dilworth, Harold Howe II, William Putnam Bundy, Frederick Baldwin Adams Jr., and Spencer Dumaresq Moseley were members of **Skull & Bones**. John Hay Whitney and John Vliet Lindsay were members of **Scroll & Key**. The Right Reverend Paul Moore Jr. was a member of **Wolf's Head**.

#### Historical Events in 1968

- January 21, 1968 – Blue House Raid in Seoul, South Korea; attempted assassination of South Korea's President Park Chung-hee
- January 23, 1968 – Capture of *USS Pueblo* by North Korea
- February 1, 1968 – Tet Offensive in Saigon, South Vietnam
- March 16, 1968 – My Lai Massacre in South Vietnam
- April 4, 1968 – Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Memphis
- April-May 1968 – Protests at Columbia University in New York City
- April 26-28, 1968 – Bilderberg Meetings in Mont Tremblant, Canada
- June 5, 1968 – Assassination of U.S. Senator and presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy in Los Angeles
- August 20-21, 1968 – Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia
- August 26-29, 1968 – Riots at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago
- October 22, 1968 – Gun Control Act of 1968 is signed into law by U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson
- November 5, 1968 – Election of Richard Nixon as President of the United States
- 1968 – Rabbi Meir David Kahane establishes the Jewish Defense League in New York City

# Vietnam War: In Their Own Words



Gen. Smedley D. Butler

“WAR is a racket. It always has been. It is possibly the oldest, easily the most profitable, surely the most vicious. It is the only one international in scope. It is the only one in which the profits are reckoned in dollars and the losses in lives. A racket is best described, I believe, as something that is not what it seems to the majority of the people. Only a small “inside” group knows what it is about. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few, at the expense of the very many. Out of war a few people make huge fortunes.”

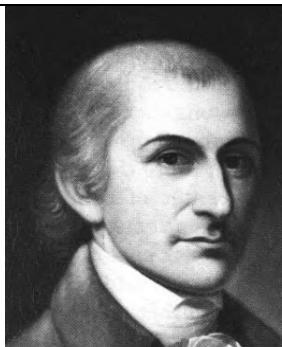
— Smedley D. Butler, Retired Major General of the U.S. Marine Corps, *War is a Racket*



Hermann Goering

“Why, of course the people don’t want war. Why would some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best that he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece? Naturally, the common people don’t want war; neither in Russia nor in England, nor in America, nor for that matter in Germany. That is understood. But, after all, it is the leaders of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along whether it’s a democracy, a fascist dictatorship, a parliament, or a communist dictatorship. ...but voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country.”

— Hermann Goering, in a conversation with U.S. Army Captain Gustave Gilbert in a prison cell during the Nuremberg trials, on April 18, 1946. from *Nuremberg Diary*, by Gustave M. Gilbert



John Jay

“But the safety of the people of America against dangers from *foreign* force depends not only on their forbearing to give *just* causes of war to other nations, but also on their placing and continuing themselves in such a situation as not to *invite* hostility or insult; for it need not be observed that there are *pretended* as well as *just* causes of war. It is too true, however disgraceful it may be to human nature, that nations in general will make war whenever they have a prospect of getting anything by it; nay, absolute monarchs will often make war when their nations are to get nothing by it, but for the purposes and objects merely personal, such as thirst for military glory, revenge for personal affronts, ambition, or private compacts to aggrandize or support their particular families or partisans. These and a variety of other motives, which affect only the mind of the sovereign, often lead him to engage in wars not sanctified by justice or the voice and interests of his people.”

— John Jay, *Federalist No. 4*



James Madison

“Of all the enemies to public liberty war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded, because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debts and taxes; and armies, and debts, and taxes are the known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few. In war, too, the discretionary power of the Executive is extended; its influence in dealing out offices, honors, and emoluments is multiplied; and all the means of seducing the minds, are added to those of subduing the force, of the people. The same malignant aspect in republicanism may be traced in the inequality of fortunes, and the opportunities of fraud, growing out of a state of war, and in the degeneracy of manners and of morals engendered by both. No nation could preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare.”

— U.S. Congressman James Madison, from *Political Observations*, April 20, 1795

# Prelude to Vietnam War, Part 1: The Drug Trade



Chinese opium den in Vietnam. The smokers are in clean surroundings and healthy-looking, possibly because at least one is smoking a tobacco pipe, not an opium pipe, *L'Illustration*, 1918. From Philip Choy collection.  
(Source: <http://www.cinarc.org/Opium-2.html>)



A Vietnamese man prepares to smoke opium. (Photo: <http://www.opiummuseum.com/index.pl?pics&66>)



*A handsome Vietnamese prostitute poses in a high-class opium den, presumably in Saigon. The French colonial administration organized the opium traffic in order to raise revenues, and the operation was highly successful.*



*Paul Doumer, the French governor-general of Indochina around the turn of the century, put the possession on a paying basis by exploiting its resources. Later president of France, he was assassinated in Paris in 1932.*

Paul Doumer served as the Governor-General of French Indochina from 1897-1902 and President of France from June 13, 1931 to May 7, 1932. Paul Doumer was assassinated by a "lone gunman" named Paul Gorguloff, a Russian émigré, in Paris, France on May 6, 1932; Paul Doumer died of his wounds the next day. (Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)

“The laboring classes, mostly Chinese and Vietnamese Chinese, upon whom the predominantly agriculturally based economy relied, spent much of their earnings on opium. Families starved to death, disease was widespread and the drug undermined workers’ abilities. The French-trained native civil service elite were most of them addicts and corrupt. When anti-colonial, nationalist sentiments began to be voiced, the opium monopoly was cited as the worst aspect of French domination and one of the linch-pins of Ho Chi Minh’s anti-colonial propaganda. It was the French who enticed the Hmong hill tribes of northern Laos to change their cash crop to opium during the Second World War, obtaining their co-operation by promising political support. Production rose by 800 per cent from 7.5 tons in 1940 to 60.6 tons in 1944 and the Hmong tribes, arguing over opium rights and revenues, split into factions which caused a quarter of a century of civil war. In neighbouring Tonkin, the French politically sided with Tai feudal leaders who purchased Hmong opium but double-crossed them when it came time to pay, causing the Hmong to take sides with the Viet Minh against the French. The Viet Minh and, therefore, ultimately the Viet Cong, had their struggle partly aided by the opium trade they detested. The French stopped the opium monopoly in 1946 but, upon losing the revenue from it, unofficially sanctioned French intelligence organizations to take over the trafficking of opiates to fund covert operations in the First Indo-China War of 1946-54. With typical Gallic guile, corrupt French intelligence officers in collaboration with Corsican gangsters operated the Indo-Chinese based international drugs trade. The money they earned was vital. The war was underfunded from Paris, where public opinion was against it, so French military and intelligence officers took a new tack. In Operation X, they dealt in opium to pay and arm local groups in order to keep the Viet Minh at bay. The French, therefore, increased the illicit traffic in opium, taking a cut of the profits to pay what were, in effect, mercenaries: individual French officials and military personnel also creamed off percentages for themselves and became rich on the proceeds. This practice did not stop until the French quit Indo-China. The raw opium in which they dealt was purchased from the Hmong then flown by French military transport to Saigon where it was prepared and distributed to dens and dealers by the Binh Xuyen. This was a Vietnamese criminal syndicate which controlled organized crime in the south of the country and to whose nefarious activities the French turned a blind eye in exchange for their co-operation and occasional help against the Viet Minh. The Binh Xuyen leader, Le Van ‘Bay’ Vien, became the richest man in Saigon by 1954 for he not only ran the domestic opium market but he sold any surplus on to Chinese and Corsican syndicates. With French colonial power receding and Vietnam partitioned, the Americans, who were increasing their influence in the new South Vietnam to counter Communist expansion, supported a new prime minister, Ngo Dinh Diem, who was fiercely opposed to the Communist Viet Minh. Diem destroyed the Binh Xuyen which he perceived as a political threat. With the departure of Le Van Vien and his cohorts, and the closure of Operation X, opium smuggling in bulk from Laos ceased with selling left to petty criminals. The vacuum was quickly filled by the Corsican syndicates who had had representatives in Saigon and Vientiane, the capital of Laos, since the French Expeditionary Corps had arrived in the late 1940s, sent out to fight in the war. Connected to comrades in Marseilles, they had been running gold, gemstones, currency and narcotics between the French port and Saigon throughout hostilities. They instigated a number of small charter air freight companies, collectively referred to as Air Opium (not to be confused with Air America). Some pilots were French criminals and some ex-Resistance fighters from the Second World War, including the famous double agent, Henri Dericourt. Under the leadership of Bonaventure ‘Rock’ Francisci, a Corsican gangster who operated Air Laos Commerciale, they flew morphine base from the golden Triangle to Saigon then freighted it onward by sea to Europe. Whilst the Corsicans were setting up a South-east Asian branch of the French Connection, the government of Ngo Dinh Diem was running short of funds. He legalized opium dens in 1958 and, as other South Vietnamese governments were to do, used the revenue to pay for the fight against the Viet Cong.” – *Opium: A History* by Martin Booth

## Binh Xuyen

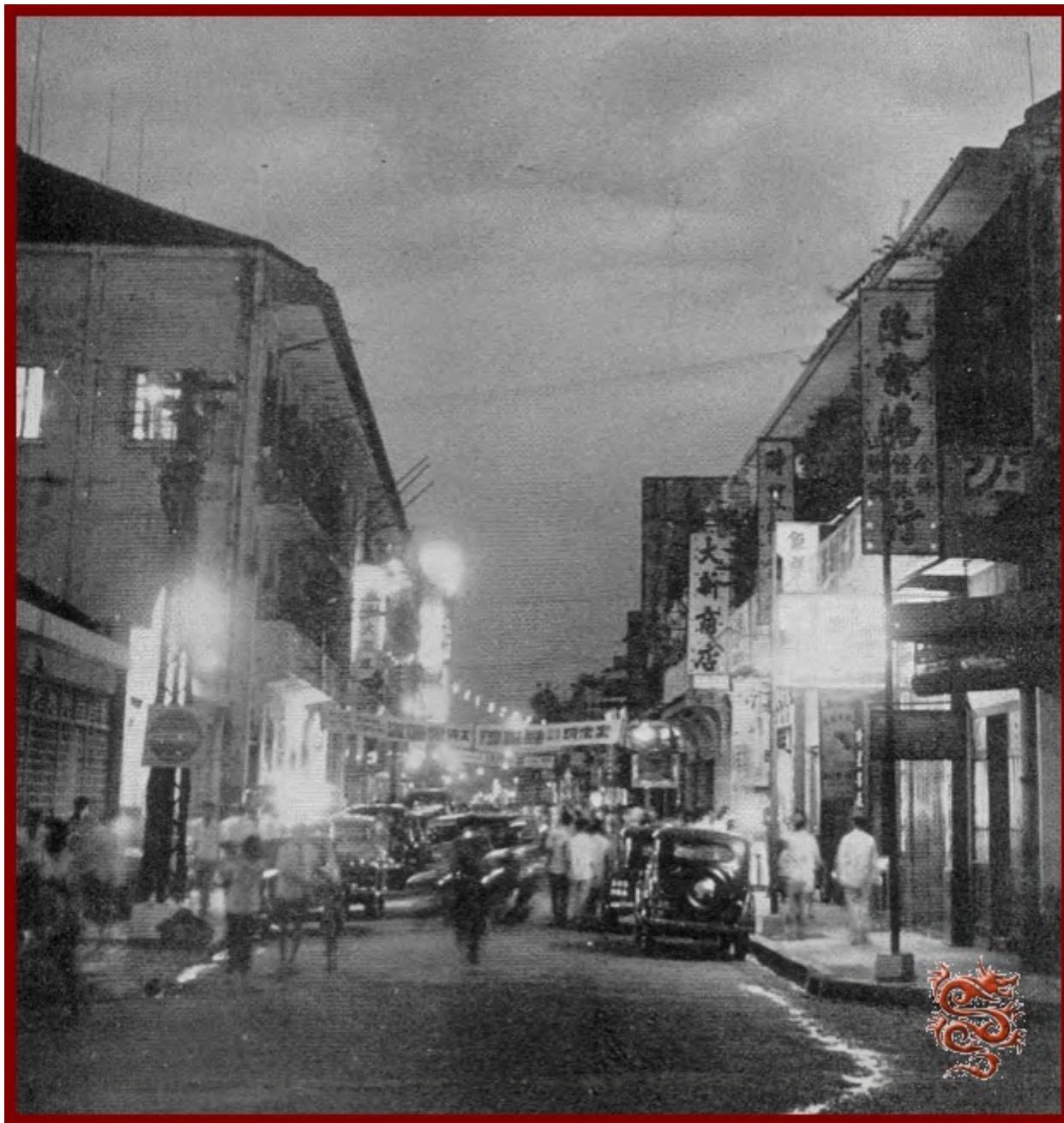
With their stronghold in the Cholon section near Saigon, **the Binh Xuyen were drug smugglers** who traditionally traded support for legal protection of their rackets, whether they were dealing with the French Empire or the Vietminh nationalists. Their trade was prostitution, gambling casinos, and opium dens. In post-World War II Vietnam, the Binh Xuyen became a powerful political faction under the leadership of Bay Vien. In 1945 the Binh Xuyen provided terrorists to the Vietminh, who assassinated more than 150 French civilians, including women and children. In order to generate the funds necessary to sustain his government, Emperor Bao Dai readily accepted money from the Binh Xuyen, who received legal protection for their rackets in return. Bao Dai made Bay Vien a general in the Vietnamese army and gave him complete authority over the casinos, prostitution, opium traffic, gold smuggling, currency manipulation, and other rackets. The French accepted Bay Vien's authority and even used his private Binh Xuyen army to fight the Vietminh. By the early 1950s, the Binh Xuyen army had reached more than 40,000 soldiers and it was a major political-military faction in southern Vietnam. After securing control of the new government of South Vietnam in the spring of 1955, Ngo Dinh Diem decided to crush the political and religious factions in the South—like the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai—and one of the most powerful was the Binh Xuyen. On April 27, 1955, Diem ordered Bay Vien and the Binh Xuyen to remove its troops from Saigon, and when they refused Diem attacked. The battle raged inside the city, killing more than 500 people and leaving 25,000 without homes. The French and Bao Dai tried to assist the Binh Xuyen, but Diem prevailed. By the end of May, Bay Vien had fled to Paris and the Binh Xuyen army had been driven into the Mekong Delta, where many of them joined the Vietcong guerrillas.



Le Grand Monde Casino in the Cholon District [Chinese District] in Saigon in the early 1950s  
(Photo: [http://saigon.vietnam.free.fr/saigon\\_en7.php](http://saigon.vietnam.free.fr/saigon_en7.php))



Bay Vien, head of the Binh Xuyen



Saigon's Cholon District at night (Photo: [http://saigon.vietnam.free.fr/saigon\\_en7.php](http://saigon.vietnam.free.fr/saigon_en7.php))



A postcard from French Indochina showing a Vietnamese opium smoker with a modest layout.  
(Photo: <http://www.opiummuseum.com/index.pl?pics&66>)



Nationalist Chinese flags fly side by side with French colors in the Cholon District of Saigon, Vietnam in March 1950.  
(Photo: Carl Mydans/Time Life)



People walk around on the main street of the Cholon District in Saigon, Vietnam in March 1950. Cholon is the Chinese section of Saigon. (Photo: Carl Mydans/Time Life)



Vietnamese men walk with their oxen as their oxen pulls a cart loaded with merchandise in Saigon, Vietnam in July 1948.  
(Photo: Jack Birns/Time Life)



LIFE

Residents of Saigon ride the street car in Saigon, Vietnam [French Indochina] in July 1948. (Photo: Time Life)



Downtown Saigon in the early 1950s (Photo: <http://muachieu.multiply.com/journal/item/66/66>)



French soldiers share a drink at a sidewalk cafe in Saigon, Vietnam (French Indochina) in July 1948. (Photo: Jack Birns/Time Life)



Bao Dai's picture adorns the city hall in Saigon, Vietnam in March 1950. (Photo: Carl Mydans/Time Life)



A picture of Bao Dai hangs on the Saigon city hall in Saigon, Vietnam in March 1950. (Photo: Carl Mydans/Time Life)

LIFE



A café in Saigon (Photo: [http://saigon.vietnam.free.fr/saigon\\_en7.php](http://saigon.vietnam.free.fr/saigon_en7.php))



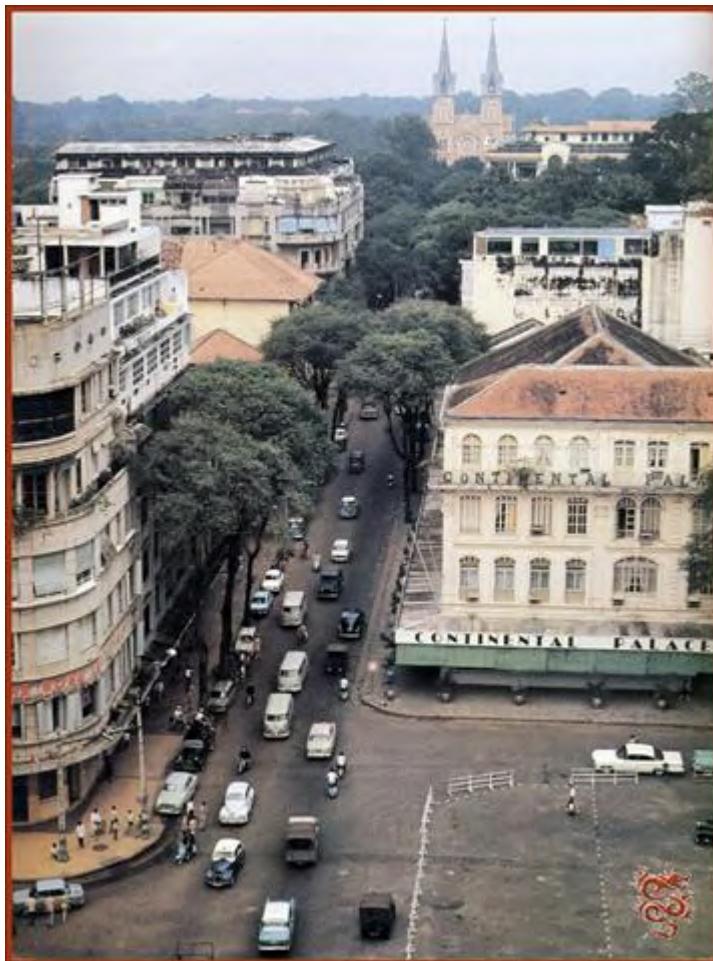
Colonial Saigon (Photo: <http://muachieu.multiply.com/journal/item/66/66>)



The Continental Palace Hotel in Saigon, South Vietnam in 1966, in the right background, was home to most of the famous war correspondents of the time. The open air ground level patio bar and restaurant served some of the best drinks and meals (and drugs) in Saigon and was frequented by some extraordinarily interesting people. The Continental Palace is still in operation today. (Photo: [Wikipedia](#))



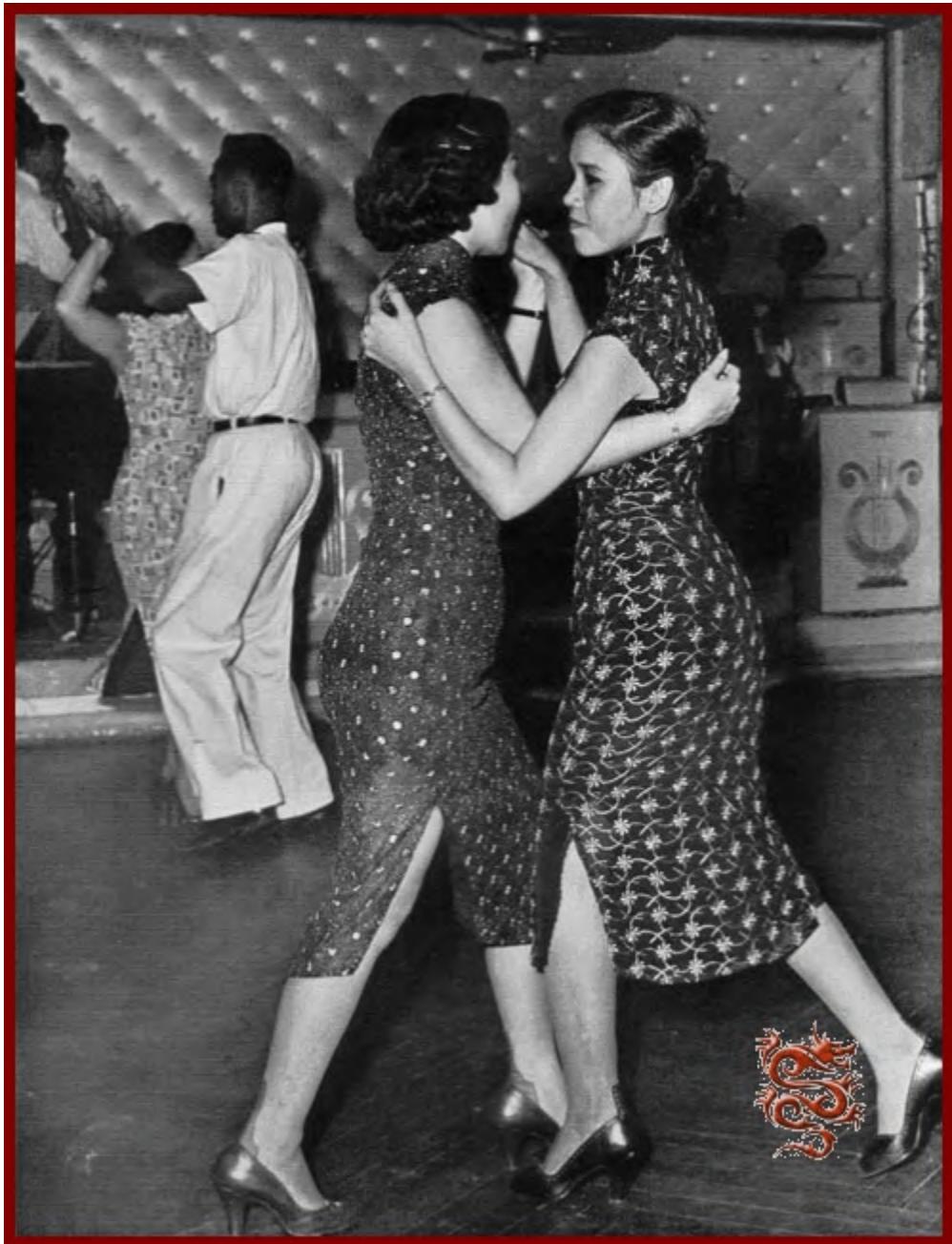
Downtown Saigon in the 1960s (Photo: <http://muachieu.multiply.com/journal/item/66/66>)



Rue Catinat and Continental Palace Hotel in Saigon (Photo: [http://saigon.vietnam.free.fr/saigon\\_en7.php](http://saigon.vietnam.free.fr/saigon_en7.php))



Downtown Saigon in the 1960s, before the Tet Offensive (Photo: <http://muachieu.multiply.com/journal/item/66/66>)



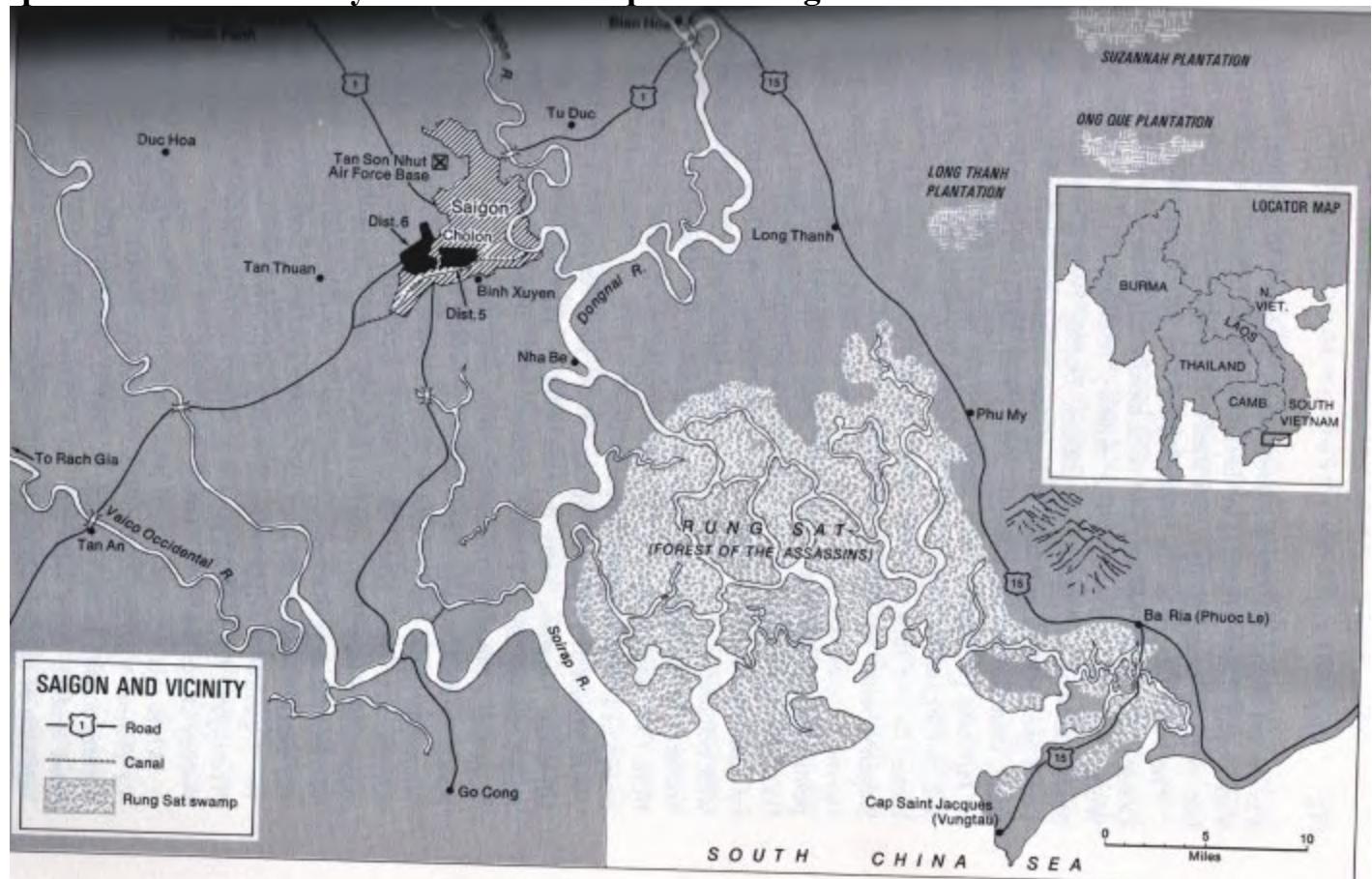
Two Vietnamese women dance together at a nightclub in Saigon in the early 1950s.

(Photo: [http://saigon.vietnam.free.fr/saigon\\_en7.php](http://saigon.vietnam.free.fr/saigon_en7.php))



The smuggling of heroin and opium along the Mekong River and around Bangkok and Saigon was rampant during the Vietnam War.

## Chapter 28: The Binh Xuyen: Order and Opium in Saigon



While the history of SDECE and MACGs direct involvement in the tribal opium trade provides an exotic chapter in the history of the narcotics traffic, the involvement of Saigon's Binh Xuyen river pirates was the product of a type of political relationship that has been repeated with alarming frequency over the last half-century—the alliance between governments and gangsters. Just as the relationship between the OSS and the Italian Mafia during World War II and the CIA-Corsican alliance in the early years of the cold war affected the resurrection of the European heroin trade, so the French 2eme Bureau's alliance with the Binh Xuyen allowed Saigon's opium commerce to survive and prosper during the First Indochina War. The 2eme Bureau was not an integral cog in the mechanics of the traffic as MACG had been in the mountains; it remained in the background providing overall political support, allowing the Binh Xuyen to take over the opium dens and establish their own opium references. By 1954 the Binh Xuyen controlled virtually all of Saigon's opium dens and dominated the distribution of prepared opium throughout Cochin China (the southern part of Vietnam). Since Cochin China had usually consumed over half of the monopoly's opium, and Saigon with its Chinese twin city, Cholon—had the highest density of smokers in the entire colony, (57) the 2eme Bureau's decision to turn the traffic over to the Binh Xuyen guaranteed the failure of the government's anti-opium campaign and ensured the survival of mass opium addiction in Vietnam.

The 2eme Bureau's pact with the Binh Xuyen was part of a larger French policy of using ethnic, religious, and political factions to deny territory to the Viet Minh. By supplying these splinter groups with arms and money, the French hoped to make them strong enough to make their localities into private fiefs, thereby neutralizing the region and freeing regular combat troops from garrison duty. But Saigon was not just another clump of rice paddies, it was France's "Pearl of the Orient," the richest, most important city in Indochina. In giving Saigon to the Binh Xuyen, block by block, over a six-year period, the French were not just building up another fiefdom, they were making these bandits the key to their hold on all of Cochin China. Hunted through the swamps as river pirates in the 1940s, by 1954 their military commander was director-general of the National Police and their great chief, the illiterate Bay Vien, was nominated as prime minister of Vietnam. The robbers had become the cops, the gangsters the government.

The Binh Xuyen river pirates first emerged in the early 1920s in the marshes and canals along the southern fringes of Saigon-Cholon. They were a loosely organized coalition of pirate gangs, about two hundred to three hundred strong. Armed with old rifles, clubs, and knives, and schooled in Sino-Vietnamese boxing, they extorted protection money from the sampans and junks that traveled the canals on their way to the Cholon docks. Occasionally they sortied into Cholon to kidnap, rob, or shake down a wealthy Chinese merchant. If too sorely pressed by the police or the colonial militia, they could retreat through the streams and canals south of Saigon deep into the impenetrable Rung Sat Swamp at the mouth of the Saigon River, where their reputations as popular heroes among the inhabitants, as

well as the maze of mangrove swamps, rendered them invulnerable to capture. (58) If the Binh Xuyen pirates were the Robin Hoods of Vietnam, then the Rung Sat ("Forest of the Assassins") was their Sherwood Forest.

Their popular image was not entirely undeserved, for there is evidence that many of the early outlaws were ordinary contract laborers who had fled from the rubber plantations that sprang up on the northern edge of the Rung Sat during the rubber boom of the 1920s. Insufficient food and brutal work schedules with beatings and torture made most of the plantations little better than slave labor camps; many had an annual death rate higher than 20 percent. (59)

But the majority of those who joined the Binh Xuyen were just ordinary Cholon street toughs, and the career of Le Van Vien ("Bay" Vien) was rather more typical. Born in 1904 on the outskirts of Cholon, Bay Vien found himself alone, uneducated and in need of a job after an inheritance dispute cost him his birthright at age seventeen. He soon fell under the influence of a small-time gangster who found him employment as a chauffeur and introduced him to the leaders of the Cholon underworld. (60) As he established his underworld reputation, Bay Vien was invited to meetings at the house of the underworld kingpin, Duong Van Duong ("Ba" Duong), in the hamlet of Binh Xuyen (which later lent its name to the group), just south of Cholon.

The early history of the Binh Xuyen was an interminable cycle of kidnapping, piracy, pursuit, and occasionally imprisonment until late in World War II, when Japanese military intelligence, the Kempeitai, began dabbling in Vietnamese politics. During 1943-1944 many individual gang leaders managed to ingratiate themselves with the Japanese army, then administering Saigon jointly with the Vichy French. Thanks to Japanese protection, many gangsters were able to come out of hiding and find legitimate employment; Ba Duong, for example, became a labor broker for the Japanese, and under their protection carried out some of Saigon's most spectacular wartime robberies. Other leaders joined Japanese-sponsored political groups, where they became involved in politics for the first time. (61) Many of the Binh Xuyen bandits had already taken a crash course in Vietnamese nationalist politics while imprisoned on Con Son (Puolo Condore) island. Finding themselves sharing cells with embittered political prisoners, they participated, out of boredom if nothing else, in their heated political debates. Bay Vien himself escaped from Con Son in early 1945, and returned to Saigon politicized and embittered toward French colonialism. (62)

On March 9, 1945, the fortunes of the Binh Xuyen improved further when the Japanese army became wary of growing anti-Fascist sentiments among their French military and civilian collaborators and launched a lightning preemptive coup. Within a few hours all French police, soldiers, and civil servants were behind bars, leaving those Vietnamese political groups favored by the Japanese free to organize openly for the first time. Some Binh Xuyen gangsters were given amnesty; others, like Bay Vien, were hired by the newly established Vietnamese government as police agents. Eager for the intelligence, money, and men the Binh Xuyen could provide, almost every political faction courted the organization vigorously. Rejecting overtures by conservatives and Trotskyites, the Binh Xuyen made a decision of considerable importance -they chose the Viet Minh as their allies.

While this decision would have been of little consequence in Tonkin or central Vietnam, where the Communist-dominated Viet Minh was strong enough to stand alone, in Cochin China the Binh Xuyen support was crucial. After launching an abortive revolt in 1940, the Cochin division of the Indochina Communist party had been weakened by mass arrests and executions. (63) When the party began rebuilding at the end of World War II it was already outstripped by more conservative nationalist groups, particularly politicoreligious groups such as the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai. In August 1945 the head of the Viet Minh in Cochin China, Tran Van Giau, convinced Bay Vien to persuade Ba Duong and the other chiefs to align with the Viet Minh. (64) When the Viet Minh called a mass demonstration on August 25 to celebrate their installation as the new nationalist government, fifteen well-armed, bare-chested bandits carrying a large banner declaring "Binh Xuyen Assassination Committee" joined the tens of thousands of demonstrators who marched jubilantly through downtown Saigon for over nine hours. (65) For almost a month the Viet Minh ran the city, managing its public utilities and patrolling the streets, until late September, when arriving British and French troops took charge.

World War II had come to an abrupt end on August 15, when the Japanese surrendered to the Allies in the wake of atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Allied commanders had been preparing for a long, bloody invasion of the Japanese home islands, and were suddenly faced with the enormous problems of disarming thousands of Japanese troops scattered across East and Southeast Asia. On September 12 some 1,400 Indian Gurkhas and a company of French infantry under the command of British General Douglas D. Gracey were airlifted to Saigon from Burma. Although he was under strict orders to stay out of politics, General Gracey, an arch-colonialist, intervened decisively on the side of the French. When a Viet Minh welcoming committee paid a courtesy call he made no effort to conceal his prejudices. "They came to see me and said 'welcome' and all that sort of thing," he later reported. "It was an unpleasant situation and I promptly kicked them out. (66) Ten days later the British secretly rearmed some fifteen hundred French troops, who promptly executed a coup, reoccupying the city's main public buildings. Backed by Japanese and Indian troops, the French cleared the Viet Minh out of downtown Saigon and began a house-to-house search for nationalist leaders. And with the arrival of French troop ships from Marseille several weeks later, France's reconquest of Indochina began in earnest. (67)

Fearing further reprisals, the Viet Minh withdrew to the west of Saigon, leaving Bay Vien as military commander of Saigon-Cholon. (68) Since at that time the Binh Xuyen consisted of less than a hundred men, the Viet Minh suggested that they merge forces with the citywide nationalist youth movement, the Avant-Garde Youth. (69) After meeting with Bay Vien, one of the Avant-Garde's Saigon leaders, the future police chief Lai Van Sang, agreed that the merger made sense: his two thousand men lacked arms and money, while the wealthy Binh Xuyen lacked rank and file. (70) It was a peculiar alliance; Saigon's toughest criminals were now

commanding idealistic young students and intelligentsia. As British and French troops reoccupied downtown Saigon, the Binh Xuyen took up defensive positions along the southern and western edges of the city. Beginning on October 25, French thrusts into the suburbs smashed through their lines and began driving them back into the Rung Sat Swamp. (71) Ba Duong led the amphibious retreat of thousands of Binh Xuyen troops, Avant-Garde Youth, and Japanese deserters deep into the Rung Sat's watery maze. However, they left behind a network of clandestine cells known as "action committees" (formerly "assassination committees") totaling some 250 men.

While Binh Xuyen waterborne guerrillas harassed the canals, the action committees effectively provided intelligence, extorted money, and unleashed political terror. Merchants paid the action committees regular fees for a guarantee of their personal safety, while the famous casino, the Grand Monde, paid \$2,600 a day as insurance that Binh Xuyen terrorists would not toss a grenade into its gaming halls. (72) These contributions, along with arms supplies, enabled the Binh Xuyen to expand their forces to seven full regiments totaling ten thousand men, the largest Viet Minh force in Cochinchina. (73) In 1947, when the Viet Minh decided to launch a wave of terror against French colonists, the Binh Xuyen action committees played a major role in the bombings, knifings, and assaults that punctuated the daily life of Saigon-Cholon. (74)

But despite their important contributions to the revolutionary movement, the Binh Xuyen marriage to the Viet Minh was doomed from the very start. It was not sophisticated ideological disputes that divided them, but rather more mundane squabbles over behavior, discipline, and territory. Relations between Binh Xuyen gangs had always been managed on the principle of mutual respect for each chief's autonomous territory. In contrast, the Viet Minh were attempting to build a mass revolution based on popular participation. Confidence in the movement was a must, and the excesses of any unit commander had to be quickly punished before they could alienate the people and destroy the revolution. On the one hand the brash, impulsive bandit, on the other the disciplined party cadre-a clash was inevitable.

A confrontation came in early 1946 when accusations of murder, extortion and wanton violence against a minor Binh Xuyen chieftain forced the Viet Minh commander, Nguyen Binh, to convene a military tribunal. In the midst of the heated argument between the Binh Xuyen leader Ba Duong and Nguyen Binh, the accused grabbed the Viet Minh commander's pistol and shot himself in the head. Blaming the Viet Minh for his friend's suicide, Ba Duong began building a movement to oust Nguyen Binh, but was strafed and killed by a French aircraft a few weeks later, well before his plans had matured. (75)

Shortly after Ba Duong's death in February 1946, the Binh Xuyen held a mass rally in the heart of the Rung Sat to mourn their fallen leader and elect Bay Vien as his successor. Although Bay Vien had worked closely with the Viet Minh, he was now much more ambitious than patriotic. Bored with being king of the mangrove swamps, Bay Vien and his advisers devised three strategems for catapulting him to greater heights: they ordered assassination committees to fix their sights on Nguyen Binh; (76) they began working with the Hoa Hao religious group to forge an anti-French, anti-Viet Minh coalition; (77) and they initiated negotiations with the French 2eme Bureau for some territory in Saigon.

The Viet Minh remained relatively tolerant of Bay Vien's machinations until March 1948, when he sent his top advisers to Saigon to negotiate a secret alliance with Captain Savani of the 2eme Bureau. (78) Concealing their knowledge of Bay Vien's betrayal, the Viet Minh invited him to attend a special convocation at their camp in the Plain of Reeds on May 19, Ho Chi Minh's birthday. Realizing that this was a trap, Bay Vien strutted into the meeting surrounded by two hundred of his toughest gangsters. But while he allowed himself the luxury of denouncing Nguyen Binh to his face, the Viet Minh were stealing the Rung Sat. Viet Minh cadres who had infiltrated the Binh Xuyen months before called a mass meeting and exposed Bay Vien's negotiations with the French. The shocked nationalistic students and youths launched a coup on May 28; Bay Vien's supporters were arrested, unreliable units were disarmed and the Rung Sat refuge was turned over to the Viet Minh. Back on the Plain of Reeds, Bay Vien sensed an ugly change of temper in the convocations, massed his bodyguards, and fled toward the Rung Sat pursued by Viet Minh troops. (79) En route he learned that his refuge was lost and changed direction, arriving on the outskirts of Saigon on June 10. Hounded by pursuing Viet Minh columns, and aware that return to the Rung Sat was impossible, Bay Vien found himself on the road to Saigon.

Unwilling to join with the French openly and be labeled a collaborator, Bay Vien hid in the marshes south of Saigon for several days until 2eme Bureau agents finally located him. Bay Vien may have lost the Rung Sat, but his covert action committees remained a potent force in Saigon-Cholon and made him invaluable to the French. Captain Savani (who had been nicknamed "the Corsican bandit" by French officers) visited the Binh Xuyen leader in his hideout and argued, "Bay Vien, there's no other way out. You have only a few hours of life left if you don't sign With US. (80) The captain's logic was irrefutable; on June 16 a French staff car drove Bay Vien to Saigon, where he signed a prepared declaration denouncing the Communists as traitors and avowing his loyalty to the present emperor, Bao Dai. (81) Shortly afterward, the French government announced that it "had decided to confide the police and maintenance of order to the Binh Xuyen troops in a zone where they are used to operating" and assigned them a small piece of territory along the southern edge of Cholon (82)

In exchange for this concession, eight hundred gangsters who had rallied to Bay Vien from the Rung Sat, together with the covert action committees, assisted the French in a massive and enormously successful sweep through the twin cities in search of Viet Minh cadres, cells, and agents. As Bay Vien's chief political adviser, Lai Huu Tai, explained, "Since we had spent time in the maquis and fought there, we also knew how to organize the counter maquis. (83)

But once the operation was finished, Bay Vien, afraid of being damned as a collaborator, retired to his slender turf and refused to budge. The Binh Xuyen refused to set foot on any territory not ceded to them and labeled an independent "nationalist zone." In order to avail themselves of the Binh Xuyen's unique abilities as an urban counterintelligence and security force, the French were obliged to turn over Saigon-Cholon block by block. By April 1954 the Binh Xuyen military commander, Lai Van Sang, was director-general of police, and the Binh Xuyen controlled the capital region and the sixty-mile strip between Saigon and Cap Saint Jacques. Since the Binh Xuyen's pacification technique required vast amounts of money to bribe thousands of informers, the French allowed them carte blanche to plunder the city. In giving the Binh Xuyen this economic and political control over Saigon, the French were not only eradicating the Viet Minh, but creating a political counterweight to Vietnamese nationalist parties gaining power as a result of growing American pressure for political and military Vietnamization. (84) By 1954 the illiterate, bullnecked Bay Vien had become the richest man in Saigon and the key to the French presence in Cochin China. Through the Binh Xuyen, the French 2eme Bureau countered the growing power of the nationalist parties, kept Viet Minh terrorists off the streets, and battled the American CIA for control of South Vietnam. Since the key to the Binh Xuyen's power was money, and quite a lot of it, their economic evolution bears examination.

The Binh Xuyen's financial hold over Saigon was similar in many respects to that of American organized crime in New York City. The Saigon gangsters used their power over the streets to collect protection money and to control the transportation industry, gambling, prostitution, and narcotics. But while American gangsters prefer to maintain a low profile, the Binh Xuyen flaunted their power: their green-bereted soldiers strutted down the streets, opium dens and gambling casinos operated openly, and a government minister actually presided at the dedication of the Hall of Mirrors, the largest brothel in Asia.

Probably the most important Binh Xuyen economic asset was the gambling and lottery concession controlled through two sprawling casinos - the Grand Monde in Cholon and the Cloche d'Or in Saigon-which were operated by the highest bidder for the annually awarded franchise. the Grand Monde had been opened in 1946 at the insistence of the governor-general of Indochina, Adm. Thierry d'Argenlieu, in order to finance the colonial government of Cochin China. (85) The franchise was initially leased to a Macao Chinese gambling syndicate, which made payoffs to all of Saigon's competing political forces-the Binh Xuyen, Emperor Bao Dai, prominent cabinet ministers, and even the Viet Minh. In early 1950 Bay Vien suggested to Capt. Antoine Savani that payments to the Viet Minh could be ended if he were awarded the franchise. (86) The French agreed, and Bay Vien's political adviser, Lai Huu Tai (Lai Van Sang's brother), met with Emperor Bao Dai and promised him strong economic and political support if he agreed to support the measure. But when Bao Dai made the proposal to President Huu and the governor of Cochin, they refused their consent, since both of them received stipends from the Macao Chinese. However, the Binh Xuyen broke the deadlock in their own inimitable fashion: they advised the Chinese franchise holders that the Binh Xuyen police would no longer protect the casinos from Viet Minh terrorists (87) kidnapped the head of the Macao syndicate, (88) and, finally, pledged to continue everybody's stipends. After agreeing to pay the government a \$200,000 deposit and \$20,000 a day, the Binh Xuyen were awarded the franchise on December 31, 1950. (89) Despite these heavy expenses, the award of the franchise was an enormous economic coup; shortly before the Grand Monde was shut down by a new regime in 1955, knowledgeable French observers estimated that it was the most profitable casino in Asia, and perhaps in the world. (90)

Sometime after 1950 the French military awarded the Binh Xuyen another lucrative colonial asset, Saigon's opium commerce. The Binh Xuyen started processing MACG's raw Meo opium and distributing prepared smokers' opium to hundreds of dens scattered throughout the twin cities. (91) They paid a fixed percentage of their profits to Emperor Bao Dai, the French 2eme Bureau, and the MACG commandos. The CIA's Colonel Lansdale later reported that:

*"The Binh Xuyen were participating in one of the world's major arteries of the dope traffic, helping move the prize opium crops out of Laos and South China. The profits were so huge that Bao Dai's tiny cut was ample to keep him in yachts, villas, and other comforts in France."* (92)

The final Binh Xuyen asset was\* prostitution. They owned and operated a wide variety of brothels, all the way from small, intimate villas staffed with attractive young women for generals and diplomats down to the Hall of Mirrors, whose twelve hundred inmates and assemblyline techniques made it one of the largest and most profitable in Asia. (93) The brothels not only provided income, they also yielded a steady flow of political and military intelligence.

In reviewing Bay Vien's economic activities in 1954, (94) the French 2eme Bureau concluded:

*"In summary, the total of the economic potential built up by General Le Van (Bay) Vien has succeeded in following exactly the rules of horizontal and vertical monopolization so dear to American consortiums."* (95)

*"Bay Vien's control over Saigon-Cholon had enabled him to build "a multi-faceted business enterprise whose economic potential constitutes ... one of the most solid economic forces in South Vietnam."* (96)

After having allowed the Binh Xuyen to develop this financial empire, the 2eme Bureau witnessed its liquidation during the desperate struggle it waged with the CIA for control of Saigon and South Vietnam. Between April 28 and May 3, 1955, the Binh Xuyen and the Vietnamese army (ARVN) fought a savage house-to-house battle for control of Saigon-Cholon. More troops were involved in this battle than in the Tet offensive of 1968, and the fighting was almost as destructive. (97) In the six days of fighting five hundred persons were killed, two thousand wounded, and twenty thousand left homeless. (98) Soldiers completely disregarded civilians and

leveled whole neighborhoods with artillery, mortars, and heavy machine guns. And when it was all over the Binh Xuyen had been driven back into the Rung Sat and Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem was master of Saigon.

This battle had been a war by proxy; the Binh Xuyen and Diem's ARVN were stand-ins, mere pawns, in a power struggle between the French 2eme Bureau and the American CIA. Although there were longstanding tactical disagreements between the French and Americans, at the ambassadorial and governmental levels, there was an atmosphere of friendliness and flexibility that was not to be found in their respective intelligence agencies.

Prior to the French debacle at Dien Bien Phu the two governments had cooperated with a minimum of visible friction in Indochina. During the early 1950s the United States paid 78 percent of the cost for maintaining the French Expeditionary Corps and hundreds of American advisers served with French units. After Dien Bien Phu and Geneva, however, the partnership began to crumble.

France resigned herself to granting full independence to her former colony, and agreed at Geneva to withdraw from the northern half of the country and hold an all-Vietnam referendum in 1956—an election the Viet Minh were sure to win—to determine who would rule the unified nation. Under the guidance of Premier Mendes-France, France planned "a precedent-setting experiment in coexistence"; she would grant the Viet Minh full control over Vietnam by adhering strictly to the Geneva Accords, and then work closely with Ho Chi Minh "to preserve French cultural influence and salvage French capital. (99) Needless to say, the French premier's plans did not sit well in a U.S. State Department operating on Secretary John Foster Dulles' anti-Communist first principles. Fundamental policy disagreements began to develop between Washington and Paris, though there was no open conflict.

The Pentagon Papers have summarized the points of disagreement between Washington and Paris rather neatly. All the foregoing tension resolved to two central issues between the United States and France. The first was the question of how and by whom Vietnam's armed forces were to be trained. The second, and more far reaching, was whether Ngo Dinh Diem was to remain at the head of Vietnam's government or whether he was to be replaced by another nationalist leader more sympathetic to Bao Dai and France. (100)

The first question was resolved soon after Special Ambassador Gen. J. Lawton Collins arrived in Vietnam on November 8, 1954. The Americans were already supplying most of ARVN's aid, and French High Commissioner Gen. Paul Ely readily agreed to turn the training over to the Americans.

The second question—whether Diem should continue as premier provoked the CIA-2eme Bureau war of April 1955. Diem was a political unknown who had acceded to the premiership largely because Washington was convinced that his strong anti-Communist, anti-French beliefs best suited American interests. But the immediate problem for Diem and the Americans was control of Saigon. If Diem were to be of any use to the Americans in blocking the unification of Vietnam, he would have to wrest control of the streets from the Binh Xuyen. For whoever controlled the streets controlled Saigon, and whoever controlled Saigon held the key to Vietnam's rice-rich Mekong Delta.

While the French and American governments politely disavowed any self-interest and tried to make even their most partisan suggestions seem a pragmatic response to the changing situation in Saigon, both gave their intelligence agencies a free hand to see if Saigon's reality could be molded in their favor. Behind the smiles on the diplomatic front, Colonel Lansdale, of the CIA, and the French 2eme Bureau, particularly Captain Savani, engaged in a savage clandestine battle for Saigon.

In the movie version of Graham Greene's novel on this period, *The Quiet American*, Colonel Lansdale was played by the World War II combat hero, Audie Murphy. Murphy's previous roles as the typical American hero in dozens of black hat-white hat westerns enabled him accurately to project the evangelistic anti-Communism so characteristic of Lansdale. What Murphy did not portray was Lansdale's mastery of the CIA's repertoire of "dirty tricks" to achieve limited political ends. When Lansdale arrived in Saigon in May 1954 he was fresh from engineering President Ramon Magsaysay's successful counterinsurgency campaign against the Philippine Communist party. As the prophet of a new counterinsurgency doctrine and representative of a wealthy government, Lansdale was a formidable opponent.

In seeking to depose Bay Vien, Colonel Lansdale was not just challenging the 2eme Bureau, he was taking on Saigon's Corsican community—Corsican businessmen, Corsican colonists, and the Corsican underworld. From the late nineteenth century onward, Corsicans had dominated the Indochina civil service. (101) At the end of World War II, Corsican resistance fighters, some of them gangsters, had joined the regular army and come to Indochina with the Expeditionary Corps. Many remained in Saigon after their enlistment to go into legitimate business or to reap profits from the black market and smuggling that flourished under wartime conditions. Those with strong underworld connections in Marseille were able to engage in currency smuggling between the two ports. The Marseille gangster Barthelemy Guerini worked closely with contacts in Indochina to smuggle Swiss gold to Asia immediately after World War II. (102) Moreover, Corsican gangsters close to Corsican officers in Saigon's 2eme Bureau purchased surplus opium and shipped it to Marseille, where it made a small contribution to the city's growing heroin industry. (103)

The unchallenged leader of Saigon's Corsican underworld was the eminently respectable Mathieu Franchini. Owner of the exclusive Continental Palace Hotel, Franchini made a fortune playing the piastergold circuit between Saigon and Marseille during the First Indochina War. (104) He became the Binh Xuyen's investment counselor and managed a good deal of their opium and gambling

profits. When Bay Vien's fortune reached monumental proportions, Franchini sent him to Paris where "new found Corsican friends gave him good advice about investing his surplus millions." [\(105\)](#) And according to reliable Vietnamese sources, it was Franchini who controlled most of Saigon's opium exports to Marseille. Neither he nor his associates could view with equanimity the prospect of an American takeover.

Many people within the 2eme Bureau had worked as much as eight years building up sect armies like the Binh Xuyen; many Corsicans outside the military had businesses, positions, rackets, and power that would be threatened by a decline in French influence. While they certainly did not share Premier Mendes France's ideas of cooperation with the Viet Minh, they were even more hostile to the idea of turning things over to the Americans.

When Lansdale arrived in Saigon in May 1954 he faced the task of building an alternative to the mosaic of religious armies and criminal gangs that had ruled South Vietnam in the latter years of the war. Ngo Dinh Diem's appointment as premier in July gave Lansdale the lever he needed. Handpicked by the Americans, Diem was strongly anti-French and uncompromisingly anti-Communist. However, he had spent most of the last decade in exile and had few political supporters and almost no armed forces. Premier in name only, Diem controlled only the few blocks of downtown Saigon surrounding the presidential palace. The French and their clients- ARVN, the Binh Xuyen, and the armed religious sects, Cao Dai and Hoa Hao-could easily mount an anti-Diem coup if he threatened their interests. Lansdale proceeded to fragment his opposition's solid front and to build Diem an effective military apparatus. French control over the army was broken and Col. Duong Van Minh ("Big Minh"), an American sympathizer, was recruited to lead the attacks on the Binh Xuyen. By manipulating payments to the armed religious sects, Lansdale was able to neutralize most of them, leaving the Binh Xuyen as the only French pawn. The Binh Xuyen financed themselves largely from their vice rackets, and their loyalty could not be manipulated through financial pressures. But, deserted by ARVN and the religious sects, the Binh Xuyen were soon crushed.

Lansdale's victory did not come easily. Soon after he arrived he began sizing up his opponent's financial and military strength. Knowing something of the opium trade's importance as a source of income for French clandestine services, he now began to look more closely at Operation X with the help of a respected Cholon Chinese banker. But the banker was abruptly murdered and Lansdale dropped the inquiry. There was reason to believe that the banker had gotten too close to the Corsicans; involved, and they killed him to prevent the information from getting any further. [\(106\)](#)

An attempted anti-Diem coup in late 1954 led to Lansdale's replacing the palace guard. After the Embassy approved secret funding (later estimated at \$2 million), Lansdale convinced a Cao Dai dissident named Trinh Minh The to offer his maquis near the Cambodian border as a refuge in case Diem was ever forced to flee Saigon. [\(107\)](#) When the impending crisis between the French and the Americans threatened Diem's security in the capital, The moved his forces into the city as a permanent security force in February 1955 and paraded 2,500 of his barefoot soldiers through downtown Saigon to demonstrate his loyalty to the premier. [\(108\)](#) The 2eme Bureau was outraged at Lansdale's support for The Practicing what Lansdale jocularly referred to as the "unorthodox doctrine of zapping a commander, [\(109\)](#) The had murdered French General Chanson in 1951 and had further incensed the French when he blew up a car in 1953 in downtown Saigon, killing a number of passersby. 2eme Bureau officers personally visited Lansdale to warn him that they would kill TM, and they "usually added the pious hope that I would be standing next to him when he was gunned down. [\(110\)](#)

On February 11, 1955, the French army abdicated its financial controls and training responsibilities for ARVN to the United States, losing not only the ARVN but control of the Hoa Hao and Cao Dai religious sects as well. Approximately 20,000 of them had served as supplementary forces to the French and Vietnamese army, [\(111\)](#) and had been paid directly by the 2eme Bureau. Now, with their stipends cut and their numbers reduced, they were to be integrated into ARVN, where they would be controlled by Diem and his American advisers.

Lansdale was given \$8.6 million to pay back salaries and "bonuses" to sect commanders who cooperated in "integrating" into the ARVN. [\(112\)](#) Needless to say, this aroused enormous hostility on the part of the French. When Lansdale met with General Gambiez of the French army to discuss the sect problem, the tensions were obvious:

*"We sat at a small table in his office.... A huge Alsatian dog crouched under it. Gambiez informed me that at one word from him, the dog would attack me, being a trained killer. I asked Gambiez to please note that my hands were in my pockets as I sat at the table; I had a small 25 automatic pointing at his stomach which would tickle him fatally. Gambiez called off his dog and I put my hands on the table. We found we could work together."* [\(113\)](#)

By February the 2eme Bureau realized that they were gradually losing to Lansdale's team, so they tried to discredit him as an irresponsible adventurer in the eyes of his own government by convening an unprecedented secret agents' tribunal. But the session was unsuccessful, and the 2eme Bureau officers were humiliated; their animosity toward Lansdale was, no doubt, intensified. [\(114\)](#)

But the French were not yet defeated, and late in February they mounted a successful counteroffensive. When Diem refused to meet the sects' demands for financial support and integration into ARVN, the French seized the opportunity and brought all the sect leaders together in Tay Ninh on February 22, where they formed the United Front and agreed to work for Diem's overthrow. Money was to be provided by the Binh Xuyen. When a month of fruitless negotiations failed to wring any concessions from Diem, the United Front sent

a five-day ultimatum to Diem demanding economic and political reforms. [\(115\)](#) Suddenly the lethargic quadrille of political intrigue was over and the time for confrontation was at hand.

Lansdale was now working feverishly to break up the United Front and was meeting with Diem regularly. [\(116\)](#) With the help of the CIA station chief, Lansdale put together a special team to tackle the Binh Xuyen, the financial linchpin of the United Front. Lansdale recruited a former Saigon police chief named Mai Huu Xuan, who had formed the Military Security Service (MSS) with two hundred to three hundred of his best detectives when the Binh Xuyen took over the police force in 1954. Embittered by four years of losing to the Binh Xuyen, the MSS began a year-long battle with the Binh Xuyen's action committees. Many of these covert cells had been eliminated by April 1955, a factor that Xuan feels was critical in the Binh Xuyen's defeat. [\(117\)](#) Another of Lansdale's recruits was Col. Duong Van Minh, the commander for Saigon-Cholon. Lansdale made ample discretionary funds available to Minh, whom he incorporated in his plans to assault the Binh Xuyen. [\(118\)](#)

The fighting began on March 28 when a pro-Diem paratroop company attacked the Binh Xuyen-occupied police headquarters. The Binh Xuyen counterattacked the following night and began with a mortar attack on the presidential palace at midnight. When French tanks rolled into the city several hours later to impose a cease-fire agreed to by the United States, Lansdale protested bitterly to Ambassador Collins, "explaining that only the Binh Xuyen would gain by a cease fire. [\(119\)](#)

For almost a month French tanks and troops kept the Binh Xuyen and ARVN apart. Then on April 27 Ambassador Collins met with Secretary of State Dulles in Washington and told him that Diem's obstinacy was the reason for the violent confrontation in Saigon. Dismayed, Dulles cabled Saigon that the U.S. was no longer supporting Diem. [\(120\)](#) A few hours after this telegram arrived, Diem's troops attacked Binh Xuyen units, and drove them out of downtown Saigon into neighboring Cholon. Elated by Diem's easy victory, Dulles cabled Saigon his full support for Diem. The Embassy burned his earlier telegram. [\(121\)](#)

During the fighting of April 28 Lansdale remained in constant communication with the presidential palace, while his rival, Captain Savani, moved into the Binh Xuyen headquarters at the Y Bridge in Cholon, where he took command of the bandit battalions and assigned his officers to accompany Binh Xuyen troops in the house-to-house fighting. [\(122\)](#) The Binh Xuyen radio offered a reward to anyone who could bring Lansdale to their headquarters where, Bay Vien promised, his stomach would be cut open and his entrails stuffed with mud. [\(123\)](#)

On May 2 the fighting resumed as ARVN units penetrated Cholon, leveling whole city blocks and pushing the Binh Xuyen steadily backward. Softened by years of corruption, the Binh Xuyen bandits were no longer the tough guerrillas of a decade before. Within a week most of them had retreated back into the depths of the Rung Sat Swamp.

Although the war between Diem and Bay Vien was over, the struggle between Lansdale and the Corsicans was not quite finished. True to the Corsican tradition, the defeated French launched a vendetta against the entire American community. As Lansdale describes it:

A group of soreheads among the French in Saigon undertook a spiteful terror campaign against American residents. Grenades were tossed at night into the yards of houses where Americans lived. American owned automobiles were blown up or booby-trapped. French security officials blandly informed nervous American officials that the terrorist activity was the work of the Viet Minh. [\(124\)](#)

A sniper put a bullet through Lansdale's car window as he was driving through Saigon, a Frenchman who resembled him was machine-gunned to death in front of Lansdale's house by a passing car. When Lansdale was finally able to determine who the ringleaders were (many of them were intelligence officers), grenades started going off in front of their houses in the evenings. [\(125\)](#)

During his May 8-11, 1955, meeting with French Premier Edgar Faure in Paris, Dulles asserted his continuing support for Diem, and both agreed that France and the United States would pursue independent policies in Indochina. The partnership was over; France would leave, and the United States would remain in Vietnam in order to back Diem. [\(126\)](#)

Diem's victory brought about a three-year respite in large-scale opium trafficking in Vietnam. Without the Binh Xuyen and Operation X managing the trade, bulk smuggling operations from Laos came to an end and distribution in Saigon of whatever opium was available became the province of petty criminals. Observers also noticed a steady decline in the number of opium dens operating in the capital region. But although American press correspondents described the Binh Xuyen-Diem conflict as a morality play-a clash between the honest, moral Premier Diem and corrupt, dope-dealing "super bandits"-the Binh Xuyen were only a superficial manifestation of a deeper problem, and their eviction from Saigon produced little substantive change. [\(127\)](#)

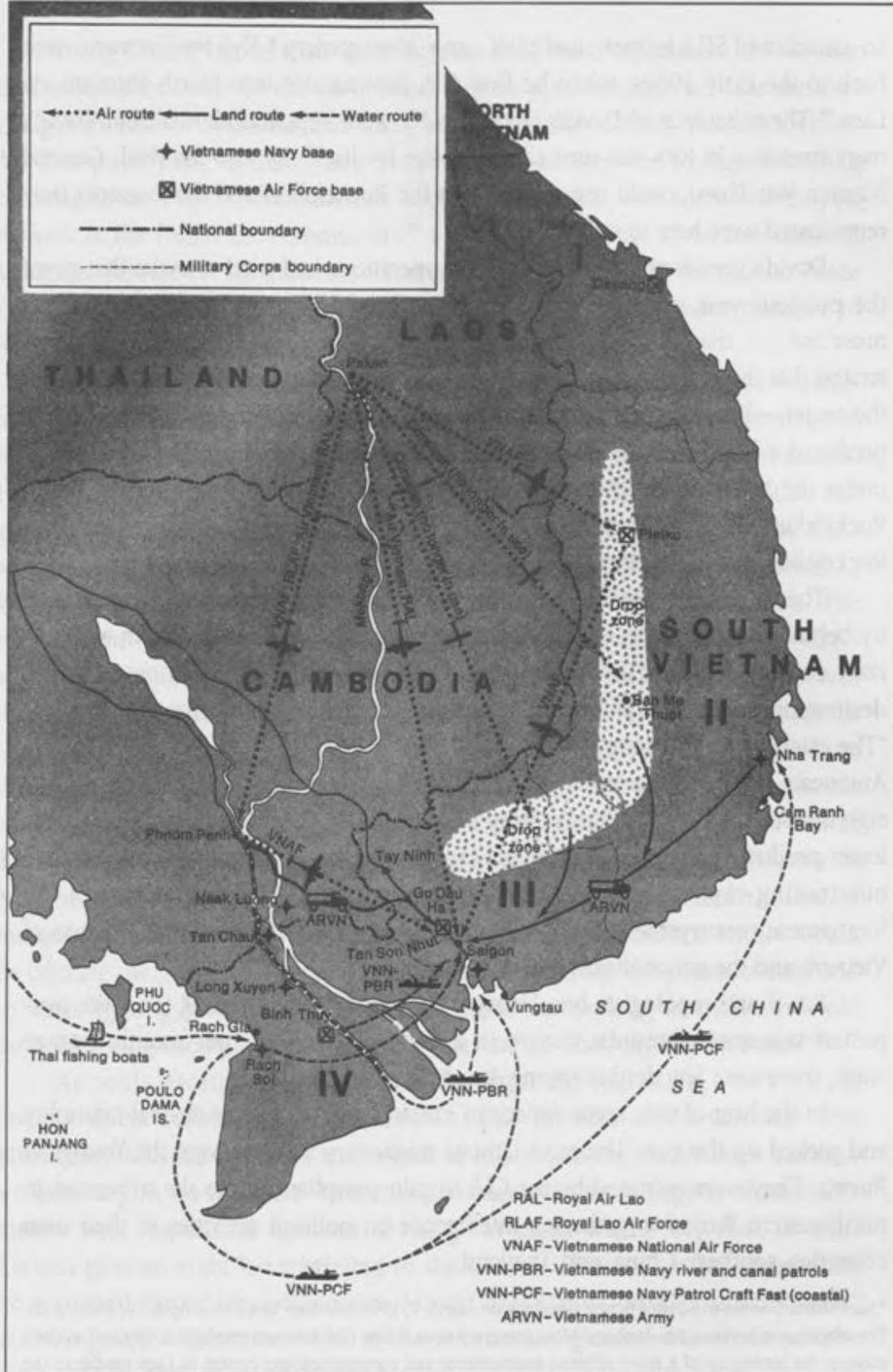
For over eighty years French colonialism had interwoven the vice trades with the basic fabric of the Vietnamese economy by using them as legitimate sources of government tax revenue. During the late 1940s the French simply transferred them from the legitimate economy to the underworld, where they have remained a tempting source of revenue for political organizations ever since. By exploiting the rackets for the French, the Binh Xuyen had developed the only effective method ever devised for countering urban guerrilla warfare in Saigon. Their formula was a combination of crime and counterinsurgency: control over the municipal police allowed systematic exploitation of the vice trade; the rackets generated large sums of ready cash; and money bought an effective network of spies, informants, and assassins.

The system worked so well for the Binh Xuyen that in 1952 Viet Minh cadres reported that their activities in Saigon had come to a virtual standstill because the bandits had either bought off or killed most of their effective organizers. (128) When the Diem administration was faced with large-scale insurgency in 1958 it reverted to the Binh Xuyen formula, and government clandestine services revived the opium trade with Laos to finance counterinsurgency operations. Faced with similar problems in 1965. Premier Ky's adviser, General Loan, would use the same methods. (129)

Source: <http://www.drugtext.org/library/books/McCoy/book/28.htm>



A group of Hmong women harvest poppy seeds in the Golden Triangle area near Thailand. (National Geographic photo)



### Heroin and Opium Smuggling into South Vietnam

Helio Couriers helped the CIA's Air America, the transporter of opium for Indochinese drug lords.

Source: Alfred W. McCoy and Cathleen B. Read, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*, p. 155. Copyright © 1972 by Alfred W. McCoy and Cathleen B. Read. Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.

(Source: *Thy Will Be Done, The Conquest of the Amazon: Nelson Rockefeller and Evangelism in the Age of Oil* by Gerard Colby (with Charlotte Dennett)

*Below:* Allen as field marshal, reviewing CIA mercenaries hired for combat against communist China, in Thailand in 1956.



CIA Director Allen W. Dulles inspects a group of mercenaries in Thailand in 1956.

(Source: *Gentleman Spy: The Life of Allen Dulles* by Peter Grose)

“The Cold War played a direct and prominent role in the production and trafficking of illicit drugs. Indeed, the financing of many anti-Communist covert operations, such as those led by the CIA, derived from the drug economy that existed in various proxy states where trafficking was often condoned and even encouraged. Specific historical examples illustrated how the anti-Communist agenda of the CIA played a decisive role in stimulating the global illicit drug trade. These include the French Connection and the role of the Corsican mafia against Communists in France and in Southeast Asia (Laos and Vietnam), the propping up of the defeated KMT [Kuomintang] in northern Burma, the Islamic mujahideen resistance in Afghanistan and, on another continent, the Contras in Nicaragua. The United States, as the leader of the global struggle against communism, made extensive use of its special services and intelligence agencies to conduct covert operations worldwide. In the global struggle to contain communism, local aid was needed and widely found in the form of local criminal organizations. The first such case dates back to the early 1930s, when New York’s organized crime kingpins – Salvatore Lucania a.k.a. Charles ‘Lucky’ Luciano, and Meyer Lansky – trafficked heroin exported from China to support Chiang Kai-shek’s KMT in the civil war there. Luciano was jailed in 1936 in the United States, not long before trafficking in Chinese heroin was considerably disrupted by World War II. It was during World War II that the American Office of Naval Intelligence cooperated with Luciano: he was to be freed after the war so long as he ordered his thugs to watch U.S. docks and ports to protect them from Nazi saboteurs. Then, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the precursor to the CIA, used mafia assistance in the Allied invasion of Sicily. Such activities initiated what was to become a long-term feature of covert operations led by United States intelligence services when consent of the United States Congress could not be obtained: the enlistment of nefarious groups engaged in illicit activities in order to wage secret wars through both proxies and alternative funding. Basically, drug traffickers were useful to special services and politicians, and in turn relied on such connections to expand their activities. Luciano was freed in 1946 and sent to Sicily where he was to cooperate with the CIA. Indeed, to counter the growing communist influence in France and Italy, the CIA turned to the mafia and condoned its drug trafficking activities. The CIA soon asked Luciano to use his connections in France to break the strikes led by socialist unions in Marseille’s docks, from which arms and supplies were sent to Indochina. The sometimes violent assistance of Corsican mobsters in cracking down on the unions was especially motivated by their involvement in the opium business in Indochina and by the smuggling of raw opium from Turkey to Marseille, where it was refined into heroin for export to the United States. Luciano took advantage of such high refining capacities and helped turn Marseille into the heroin capital of Europe. These Marseille syndicates, dubbed the ‘French Connection’, supplied the United States heroin market for two decades. But it is in Southeast Asia, Southwest Asia, and Latin America that the CIA most significantly influenced the illicit drug trade. Its anti-Communist covert operations benefited from the participation of a number of drug-related combat units who, to finance their own struggle, were directly involved in illicit drug production and trafficking. The CIA’s backing of different groups in the drug trade (for example, the Hmong in Laos, the KMT in Burma and the mujahideen in Afghanistan), inferred that the agency condoned the use of drug proceeds and the increase in opiate production in Asia. However, no evidence has surfaced to suggest that the CIA condoned or facilitated the export of heroin to the United States or Europe, as clearly happened with cocaine and the Nicaraguan Contras.”

– *Opium: Uncovering the Politics of the Poppy* by Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy, p. 94-96 (published in 2010)

“In October 1949, the Communists defeated the KMT in China, and in the years that followed they cracked down on what was then the world’s largest opium production network. Opium production then shifted to the mountainous and frontier areas of Burma, Laos, and Thailand, where KMT remnants had fled and become deeply involved in drug trafficking. Beginning in 1951, the CIA supported the KMT in Burma in an unsuccessful effort to assist it in regaining a foothold in China’s Yunnan province. Arms, ammunition, and supplies were flowed into Burma from Thailand by the CIA’s Civil Air Transport (CAT), later renamed Air America and, still later, Sea Supply Corporation, created to mask the shipments. The Burmese Army eventually drove KMT remnants from Burma in 1961, but the latter resettled in Laos and northern Thailand and continued to run most of the opium trade. CAT not only supplied military aid to the KMT: it also flew opium to Thailand and Taiwan. There is no doubt that the CIA sanctioned both the KMT’s involvement in the opium trade and the use of CAT (and later Air America aircraft) in that trade. The KMT would eventually enlarge its role in the opium trade after the CIA’s withdrawal of financial and logistical support. Burma eventually became one of the world’s two main opium producers. Following the French defeat in Indochina in 1954, the United States gradually took over the intelligence and military fight against communism in both Laos and Vietnam. It also took over the drug trafficking business developed by the French by buying the opium produced by the Hmong and Yao hill tribes in return for help with counterinsurgency operations against the Viet Minh. To meet the costs of this war, the French secret intelligence service, the SDECE (Service de documentation extérieure et de contreespionnage), had allied itself with the Corsican syndicates, trafficking opium from Indochina to Marseille in order to gain control of the opium trade that the colonial government had outlawed in 1946. The CIA ran its secret army in Laos, composed largely of Hmong tribesmen led by General Vang Pao. Air America would fly arms to the Hmong and fly back their opium to the CIA base at Long Tieng, where Vang Pao had set up a large heroin laboratory. Some of the heroin was then flown to South Vietnam, where part of it was sold to U.S. troops. After the Americans pulled out of Vietnam in 1975, Laos became the world’s third largest opium producer and retained this rank until the mid-2000s.

– *Opium: Uncovering the Politics of the Poppy* by Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy, p. 96-97 (published in 2010)

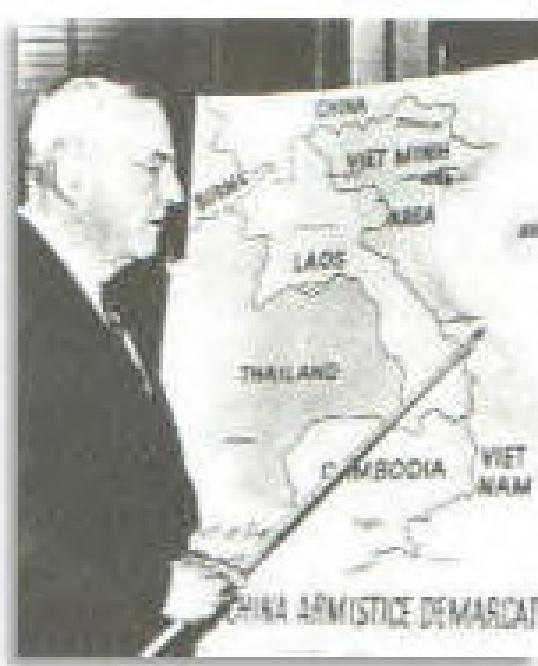
“However, Vietnam was not the only battleground of Cold War drug operations. The CIA launched a major new covert operation in Southwest Asia in the early 1980s to support Afghanistan’s mujahideen guerillas in their fight against Soviet occupation. United States President, Ronald Reagan, was determined to counter what he viewed as Soviet hegemony and expansionism, a goal shared by his CIA director, William Casey. To support the mujahideen with arms and funds, the CIA turned to one of Pakistan’s intelligence services, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). The ISI chose which Afghan leaders to back and used trucks from Pakistan’s military National Logistics Cell (NLC) to carry arms from Karachi to the Afghan border. However, the ISI not only chose Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, an important Afghan opium trafficker, as its main beneficiary: it also allowed NLC trucks to return from the border loaded with opium and heroin. After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, United States aid to the mujahideen stopped, and the internecine conflict that ensued in the country favoured an increase in opium production in order to maintain rival warlords and armies. Afghanistan eventually became the world’s leading opium-producing country. As Jill Jonnes puts it: *In the years before World War II, American international narcotics policy had been extremely straightforward. The United States was righteously against anything that promoted or sustained the non-medical use of addicting drugs. But the Cold War created not only new national security policies, but a new shadow world that accepted a far more ambivalent attitude toward drugs and drug trafficking.* Illicit drug production and trafficking increased during the Cold War. During this period, the United States government was less interested in waging the ‘war on drugs’ begun in 1971 by Richard Nixon than in using drug traffickers to support its war and proxies abroad. Indeed, had the CIA cracked down on drug trafficking during the Cold War, it would have forgone valuable intelligence sources, political influence and much needed funding for its covert, and sometimes illegal, operations. Ironically, there is no evidence that the Soviet Union or its secret intelligence agency, the KGB (Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti), resorted to drug sales to fund activities during the Cold War. Thus, after the modern international narcotics trafficking industry emerged in pre-Second World War China, and after communism had enabled the People’s Republic of China to suppress local opium production, trafficking and consumption, it was the Cold War fight against communism that provided the justification for using proceeds from opium production and trafficking to finance covert operations and secret wars. In the third edition of *The Politics of Heroin*, Alfred McCoy writes: *Rhetoric about the drug evil and the moral imperative of its extirpation has been matched by a paradoxical willingness to subordinate or even sacrifice the cause for more questionable goals. The same governments that seem to rail most sternly against drugs, such as Nationalist China in the 1930s and the United States since the 1940s, have frequently formed covert alliances with drug traffickers.* In his effort to reveal the extent of the ‘CIA complicity in the global drug trade’ McCoy then explains that ‘nowhere is this contradiction between social idealism and political realism more evident than in the clash between prohibition and protection during the cold war’. However, the end of the Cold War would not reduce illicit opium production in Asia, as the end of foreign subsidies to warring Afghan factions largely stimulated opium poppy cultivation in Afghanistan. During most of the twentieth century, wars and conflicts fostered illicit opium production and made peace-building more difficult, as war economies and drug economies fed each other in a vicious circle.”

– *Opium: Uncovering the Politics of the Poppy* by Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy, p. 97-98 (published in 2010)



Left: CIA Director Allen Dulles greets his brother U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

Right: U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles reviews a map of French Indochina at a conference.





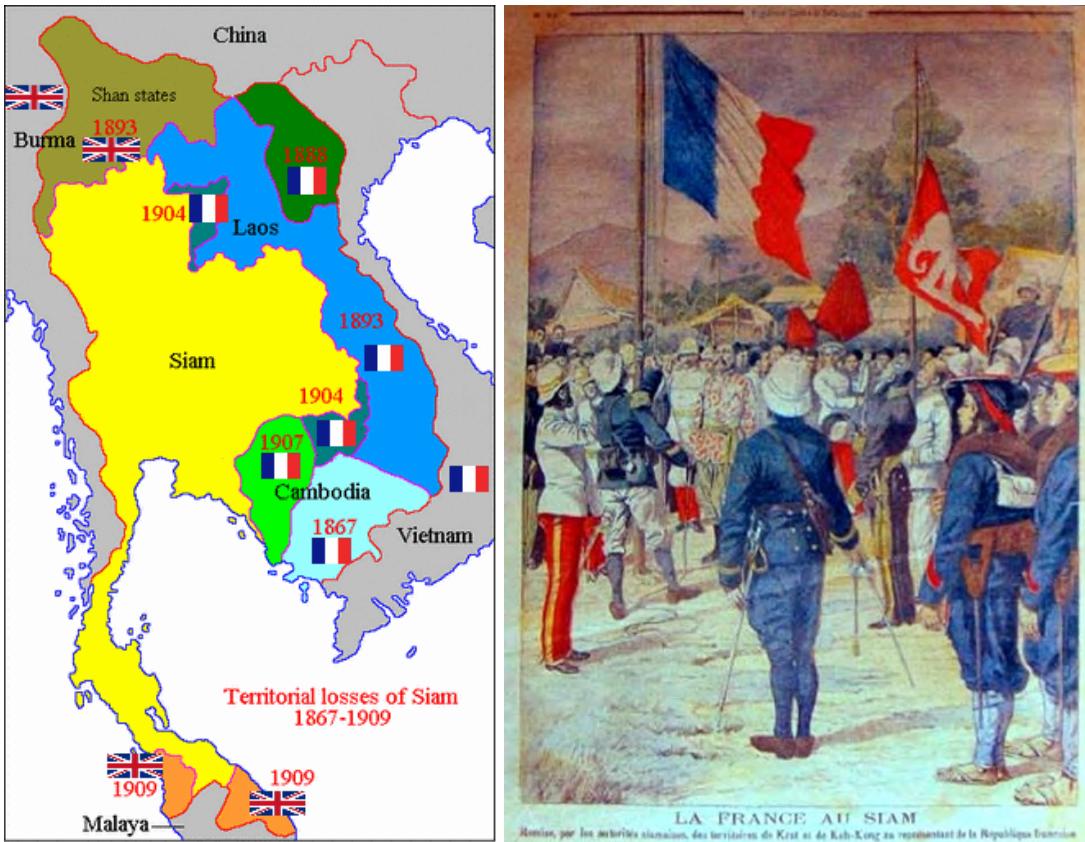
The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was involved in various drug trafficking operations in South Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Cambodia, and other areas of Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War. Some of the drugs brought to South Vietnam were later exported to the United States of America and sold to unsuspecting Americans during the Turbulent 1960s. The CIA used illicit drug profits to finance various covert operations in South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

“One day in 1967 at the place where Burma, Thailand, and Laos meet – a conjunction that gives the Golden Triangle its name – an SUA [Shan United Army] caravan with 16 tons of opium, coming south from Burma, sought to avoid paying the customary tax to the KMT [Kuomintang]. So the SUA crossed the Mekong River into Laos; the KMT gave chase. At the height of the fight, at the village of Ban Khwan; Lao warplanes swooped in, dropping bombs. Then came Lao paratroopers, seizing the opium; it went to the commander in chief of the Royal Lao Army, who was in the opium business too.”

# Prelude to Vietnam War, Part 2: Colonization

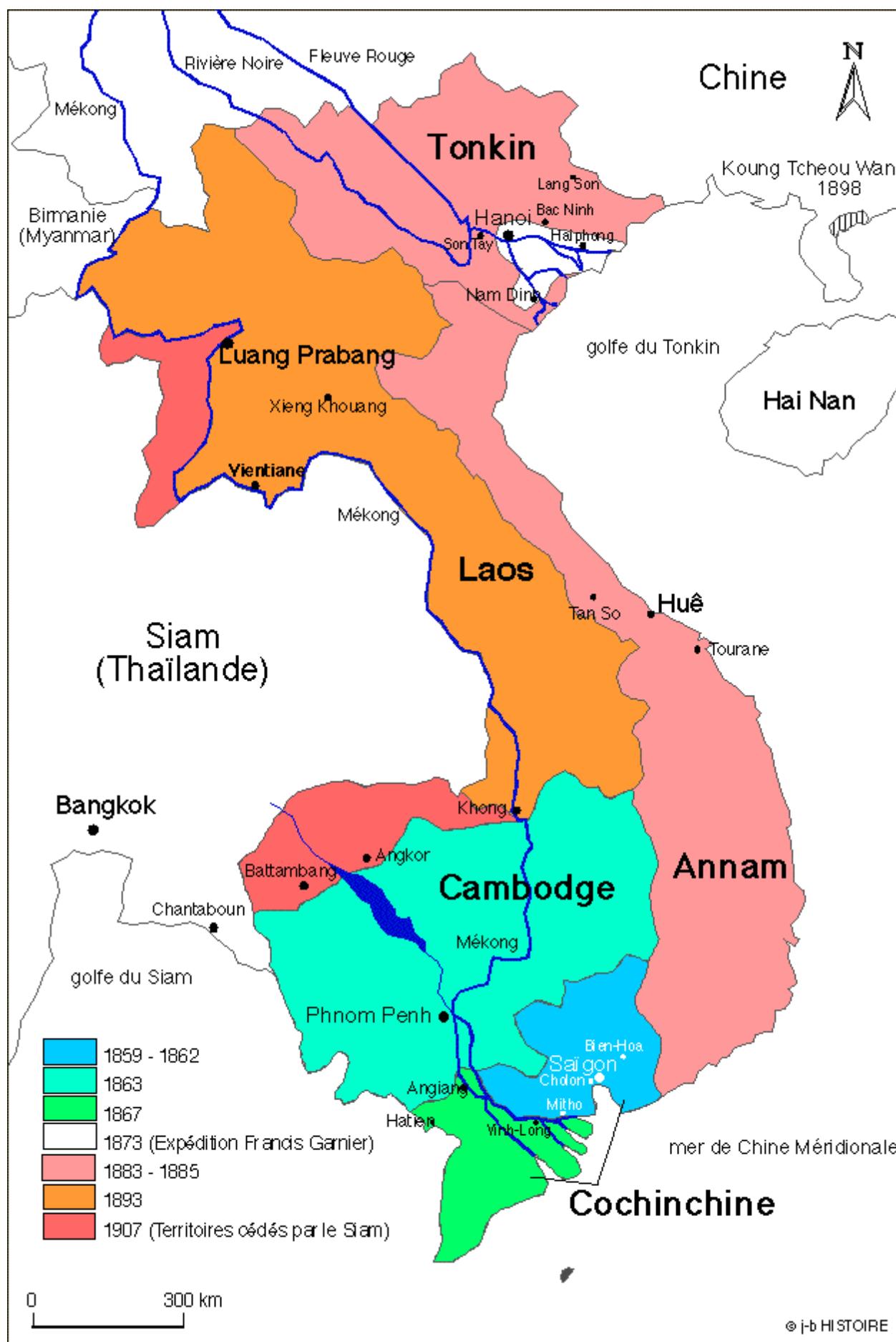


Soldiers of the Siamese (Thailand) Army appear in the disputed territory of Laos during the Franco-Siamese War of 1893. The French conquered and colonized present-day Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.



Left: Military occupation of Trat, Thailand by French troops in 1904

Right: Territorial claims abandoned by Siam [Thailand] in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The result of the Franco-Siamese War was the cession of Laos (dark blue) to France in 1893.



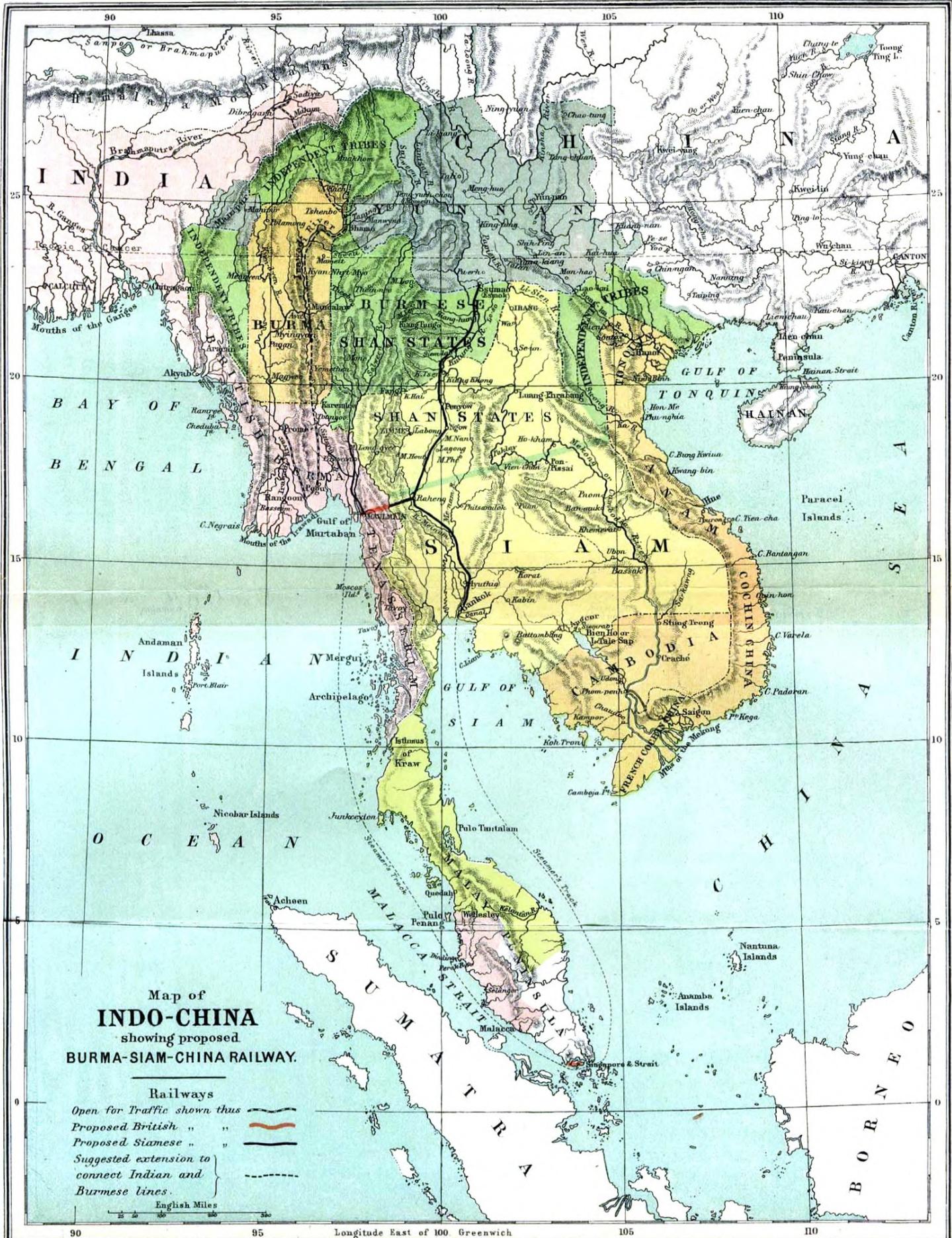
A map of French Indochina. Saigon was the capital of French Indochina from 1887 to 1901, and Hanoi was the capital of French Indochina from 1902 to 1954. Vietnam consisted of three separate kingdoms in the early 1800s: Cochin China (with capital at Saigon), Annam (with capital at Hue), and Tonkin (with capital at Hanoi).



Governors-General of French Indochina: **Albert-Pierre Sarraut** (left, November 1911-January 1914, January 1917-May 1919) and **Paul Doumer** (right, February 1897-October 1902)



Street scene in Saigon, French Indochina (Vietnam) circa 1915 (Photo: Library of Congress Photo and Prints Collection)



Scottish Geographical Magazine, 1886.  
A map of Indo-China in 1886



An early twentieth-century Vietnamese nationalist cartoon depicts peasants routing French colonial troops. The peasants are shouting: "Wipe out the gang of imperial mandarins, capitalists, and big landlords!"



Vietnamese prisoners being held in stocks after an attempt to subvert a French army garrison. This plot, uncovered in 1907, led to the execution of several Vietnamese nationalists and the incarceration of many others.

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



*Ho Chi Minh, then known as Nguyen Ai Quoc, at a French Socialist party congress in December 1920. It was here that the Communists broke away to form their own party, and Ho joined them. He was thirty years old.*

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



*Ho Chi Minh (back row, third from left) with other Communist agents in Moscow in the mid-1920s. He was then using the name Linh, and his identity papers testified to his fluency in Vietnamese, French, English, Russian, and Chinese.*

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



Imperial Japanese Army troops enter Saigon in 1941. The Imperial Japanese Navy was stationed at Cam Ranh Bay during World War II.



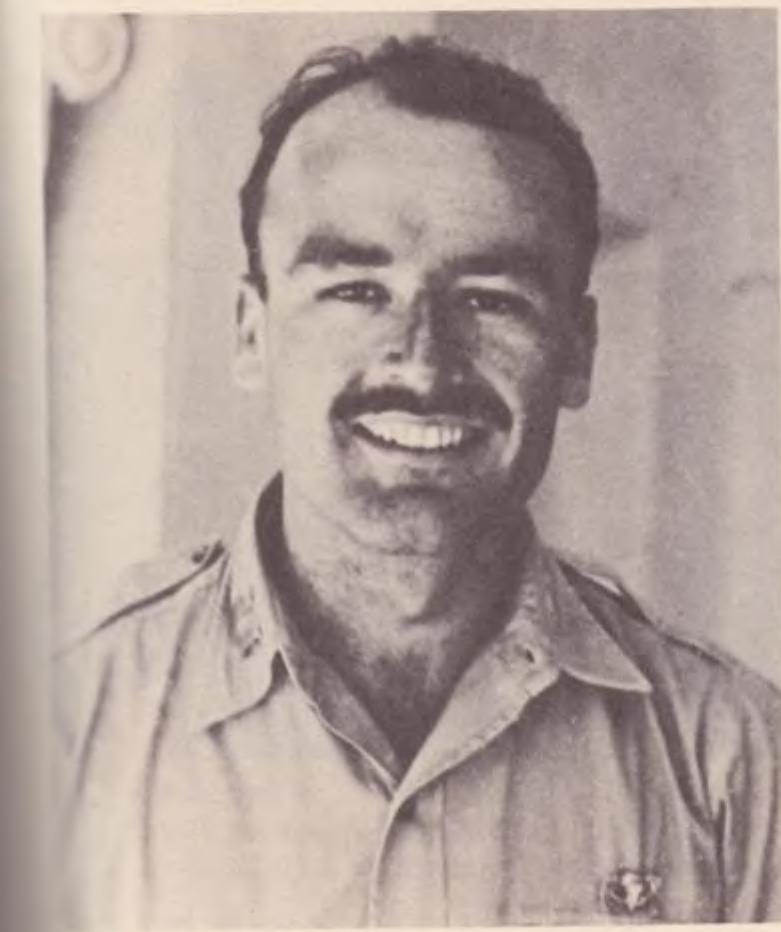
Left: Thai and Japanese officers pose after meeting in Thailand circa 1941.



Right: Japanese and Thai soldiers meet together, displaying the Imperial Japanese and Thai flags.



During World War II, the U.S. Office of Strategic Services, precursor of the CIA, trained Ho Chi Minh's forces in the jungles of northern Vietnam. The OSS team, known as the Deer Mission, was headquartered in Kunming, in southwest China.



Lieutenant Colonel Peter Dewey of the OSS, assigned to Saigon in 1945. He alienated French and British officers by contacting the Vietminh. Accidentally killed in a Vietminh ambush, he was the first American to die in Vietnam.

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



Ho Chi Minh (center) and Vo Nguyen Giap (far left) appear with American OSS agents in 1945 as they planned coordinated action against the Japanese.



A Japanese soldier posts Proclamation No. 1 declaring martial law in Vietnam in English, French and Vietnamese in September 1945. (Imperial War Museum, London)

# Independence and Re-Colonization (1945-1946)



Ho Chi Minh proclaims Vietnamese independence in Hanoi on September 2, 1945

# Vietnamese Declaration of Independence (September 2, 1945)

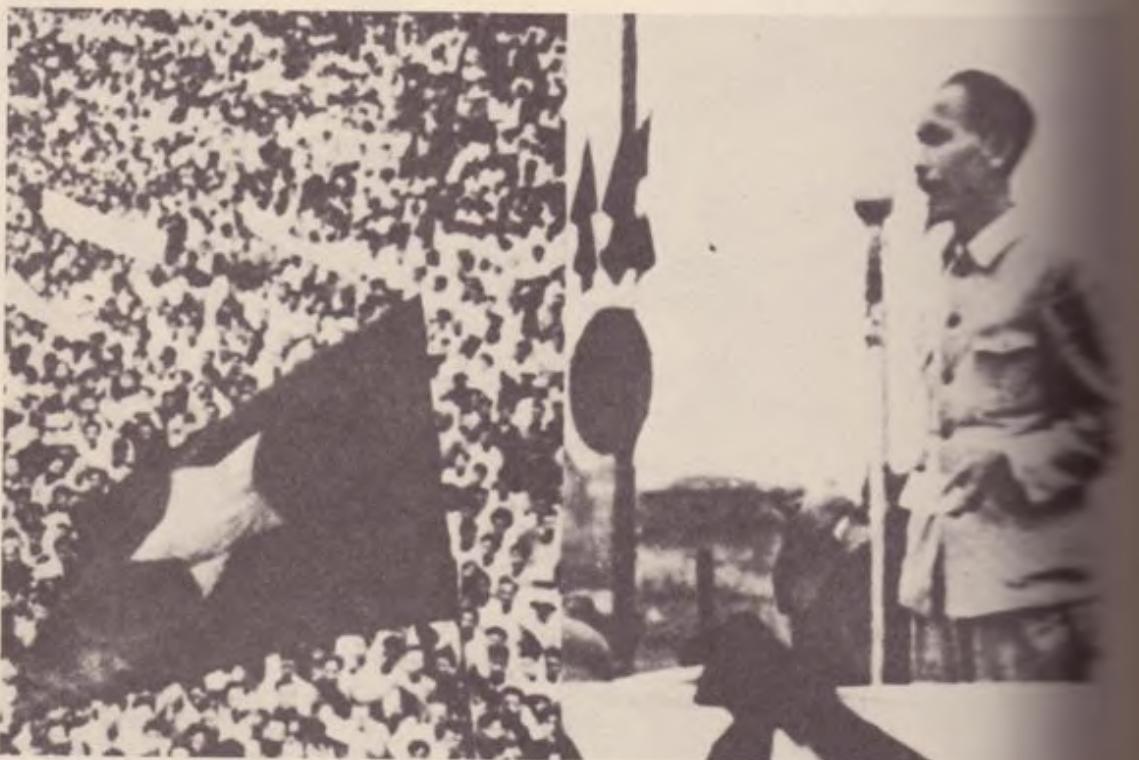
"All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness" This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free. The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: "All men are born free and with equal rights, and must always remain free and have equal rights." Those are undeniable truths. Nevertheless, for more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow-citizens. They have acted contrary to the ideals of humanity and justice. In the field of politics, they have deprived our people of every democratic liberty. They have enforced inhuman laws; they have set up three distinct political regimes in the North, the Center and the South of Vietnam in order to wreck our national unity and prevent our people from being united. They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots- they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood. They have fettered public opinion; they have practised obscurantism against our people. To weaken our race they have forced us to use opium and alcohol. In the fields of economics, they have fleeced us to the backbone, impoverished our people, and devastated our land. They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests, and our raw materials. They have monopolised the issuing of bank-notes and the export trade. They have invented numerous unjustifiable taxes and reduced our people, especially our peasantry, to a state of extreme poverty. They have hampered the prospering of our national bourgeoisie; they have mercilessly exploited our workers. In the autumn of 1940, when the Japanese Fascists violated Indochina's territory to establish new bases in their fight against the Allies, the French imperialists went down on their bended knees and handed over our country to them. Thus, from that date, our people were subjected to the double yoke of the French and the Japanese. Their sufferings and miseries increased. The result was that from the end of last year to the beginning of this year, from Quang Tri province to the North of Vietnam, more than two million of our fellow-citizens died from starvation. On March 9, the French troops were disarmed by the Japanese. The French colonialists either fled or surrendered, showing that not only were they incapable of "protecting" us, but that, in the span of five years, they had twice sold our country to the Japanese. On several occasions before March 9, the Vietminh League urged the French to ally themselves with it against the Japanese. Instead of agreeing to this proposal, the French colonialists so intensified their terrorist activities against the Vietminh members that before fleeing they massacred a great number of our political prisoners detained at Yen Bay and Cao Bang. Notwithstanding all this, our fellow-citizens have always manifested toward the French a tolerant and humane attitude. Even after the Japanese putsch of March 1945, the Vietminh League helped many Frenchmen to cross the frontier, rescued some of them from Japanese jails, and protected French lives and property. From the autumn of 1940, our country had in fact ceased to be a French colony and had become a Japanese possession. After the Japanese had surrendered to the Allies, our whole people rose to regain our national sovereignty and to found the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The truth is that we have wrested our independence from the Japanese and not from the French. The French have fled, the Japanese have capitulated, Emperor Bao Dai has abdicated. Our people have broken the chains which for nearly a century have fettered them and have won independence for the Fatherland. Our people at the same time have overthrown the monarchic regime that has reigned supreme for dozens of centuries. In its place has been established the present Democratic Republic. For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government, representing the whole Vietnamese people, declare that from now on we break off all relations of a colonial character with France; we repeal all the international obligation that France has so far subscribed to on behalf of Vietnam and we abolish all the special rights the French have unlawfully acquired in our Fatherland. The whole Vietnamese people, animated by a common purpose, are determined to fight to the bitter end against any attempt by the French colonialists to reconquer their country. We are convinced that the Allied nations which at Tehran and San Francisco have acknowledged the principles of self-determination and equality of nations, will not refuse to acknowledge the independence of Vietnam. A people who have courageously opposed French domination for more than eighty years, a people who have fought side by side with the Allies against the Fascists during these last years, such a people must be free and independent. For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, solemnly declare to the world that Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilise all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty."

\* Note, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has been renamed The Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Source: <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/ho-chi-minh/works/1945/declaration-independence.htm>



*A roundup of Vietnamese nationalists by French troops in Saigon in late 1945. The city was torn by rioting as Vietnamese nationalists tried to prevent the French from establishing colonial rule.*



*On September 2, 1945, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam's independence from a platform erected in a Hanoi square. He quoted the American Declaration of Independence, the text of which had been supplied to him by an OSS officer.*

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



Hanoi people welcomed the Allies to lay down the Japanese army's weapons on Trang Tien Street in Hanoi in August 1945.  
(Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



On August 19, 1945, Hanoi people seized the power at the northern government office, 12 Ngo Quyen, Hanoi.  
(Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



On August 28, 1945, liberation troops from Viet Bac paraded at Hanoi Opera House square.  
(Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



The platform built at Ba Dinh Square on September 2, 1945, where President Ho Chi Minh read the Declaration of Independence to found the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. (Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



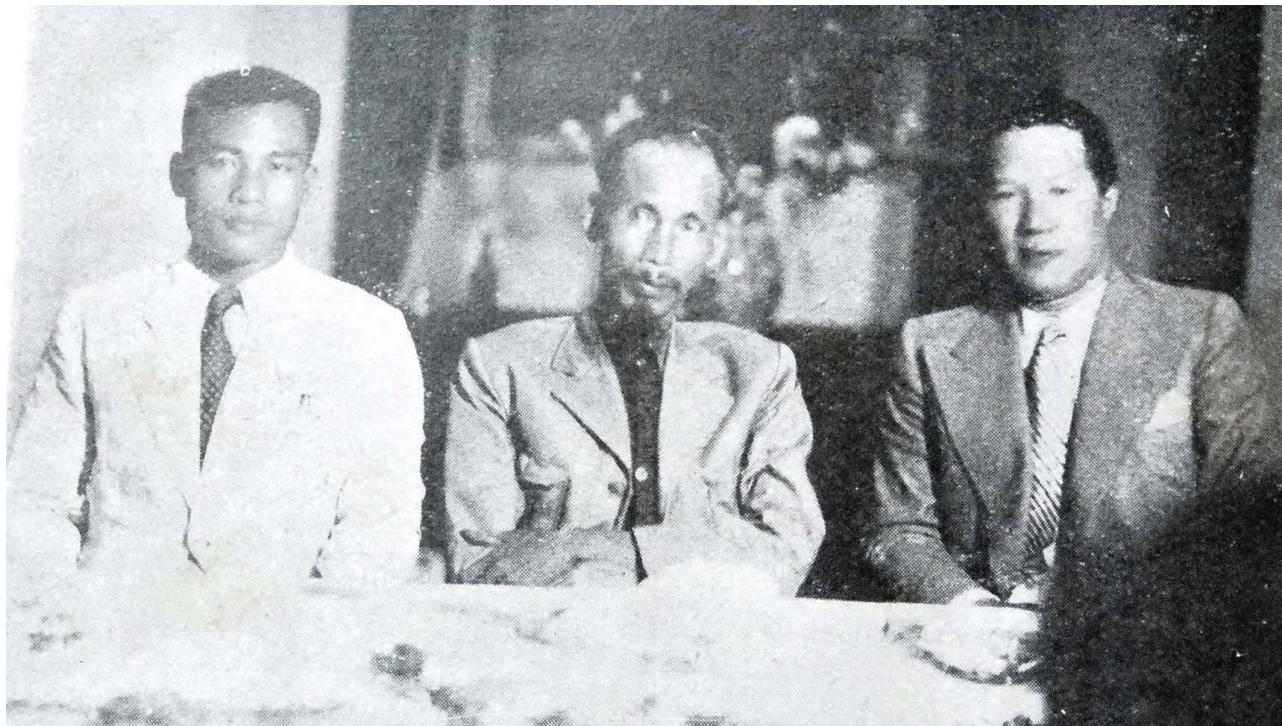
Hanoi people donated cash and gold to the government on September 17, 1945 during "Gold Week". (Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



Hanoi youth asked the government to send them south to join the war of resistance there in September 1945. (Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



Free French 6th Commando C.L.I. are saluted by surrendered Japanese soldiers in Saigon in November 1945.



M Vinh Tuy (left) and former Emperor Bao Dai (right) meet with Vietnam's new President Ho Chi Minh in November 1945. (Photo by Henri Estirac). (Source: <http://belleindochine.free.fr/Annee1945Saigon.htm>)



General Vo Nguyen Giap reviews the liberation army from Tan Trao to Hanoi in 1945.

(Photo: [http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News\\_English/News\\_Detail\\_E.aspx?CN\\_ID=419442&CO\\_ID=30438](http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News_English/News_Detail_E.aspx?CN_ID=419442&CO_ID=30438))

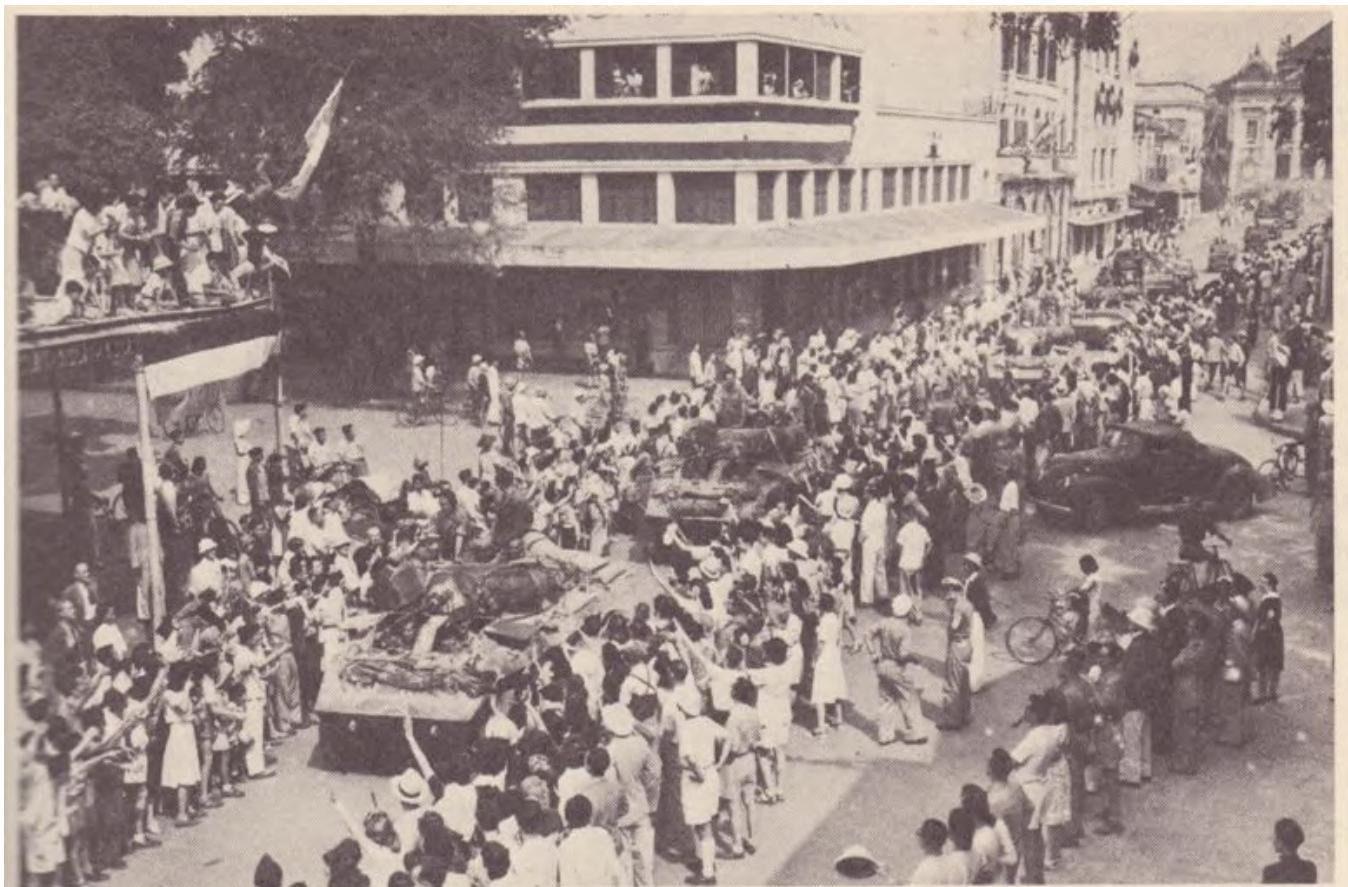


The suicide squad waylaid in Khuong Thuong, Hanoi in 1945.

(Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



Hanoi people attended President Ho Chi Minh's presentation about the general election at the Hanoi University of Technology on January 5, 1946. (Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



*Under an agreement to remove the Chinese forces, Ho Chi Minh agreed to the return of the French army to Hanoi in 1946. Troops are seen here re-entering the city. The welcoming crowd was composed mostly of French residents.*

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



Hanoi people march to support the national illiteracy eradication campaign in 1946.

(Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



The map of Vietnam displayed at Hang Da Street in Hanoi on June 9, 1946.

(Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



O Cau Den, Hanoi in 1946. (Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



The August Revolution anniversary on Trang Tien Street in Hanoi on August 19, 1946.  
(Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



The government presented itself before the National Assembly on November 3, 1946 at the Hanoi Opera House.  
(Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



The suicide squad laid mines in front of Dong Xuan market in December 1946.  
(Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



Ho Chi Minh, president of the Indochinese revolutionary government, in Paris with Pham Van Dong (1906 - 2000, left), 22nd June 1946. (Photo by RDA/Getty Images)



(NY28-July 13) INDOCHINA RED IN MOSCOW--Bearded Ho Chi Minh, president of northern Indochina's Communist republic of North Viet Nam, addresses welcomers at Moscow airport on his arrival in the Soviet capital yesterday. A translator at right foreground repeats Ho's remarks in Russian. Lined up behind the Viet Nam leader are Soviet officials, from left: Premier Nikolai Bulganin, Marshal Klementi Voroshilov, Mikhail Pervukhin, Lazar Kaganovich, an unidentified man and Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov. (AP Wirephoto via radio from Moscow) (jdc41020rcal-lon) 1955

Ho Chi Minh (left) delivers a speech in Moscow, with Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov (right) in attendance.

VIỆT-NAM DÂN CHỦ CỘNG HÒA

CHÍNH PHỦ LÂM THỜI

BO NGOAI GIAO

\*

TELEGRAM

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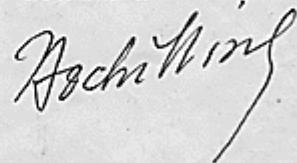
PRESIDENT HOCHIMINH VIETNAM DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC HANOI

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WASHINGTON D.C.

ON BEHALF OF VIETNAM GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE I BEG TO INFORM YOU THAT IN COURSE OF CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN VIETNAM GOVERNMENT AND FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES THE LATTER REQUIRE THE SECESSION OF COCHINCHINA AND THE RETURN OF FRENCH TROOPS IN HANOI STOP MEANWHILE FRENCH POPULATION AND TROOPS ARE MAKING ACTIVE PREPARATIONS FOR A COUP DE MAIN IN HANOI AND FOR MILITARY AGGRESSION STOP I THEREFORE MOST EARNESTLY APPEAL TO YOU PERSONALLY AND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO INTERFERE URGENTLY IN SUPPORT OF OUR INDEPENDENCE AND HELP MAKING THE NEGOTIATIONS MORE IN KEEPING WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ATLANTIC AND SAN FRANCISCO CHARTERS

RESPECTFULLY

HOCHIMINH



Letter from Ho Chi Minh to American President Harry S. Truman, February 28, 1946.

Creator: Joint Chiefs of Staff. Office of Strategic Services. (06/13/1942 - 10/01/1945)

From the National Archives (<http://media.nara.gov/media/images/37/6/37-0573a.gif>)

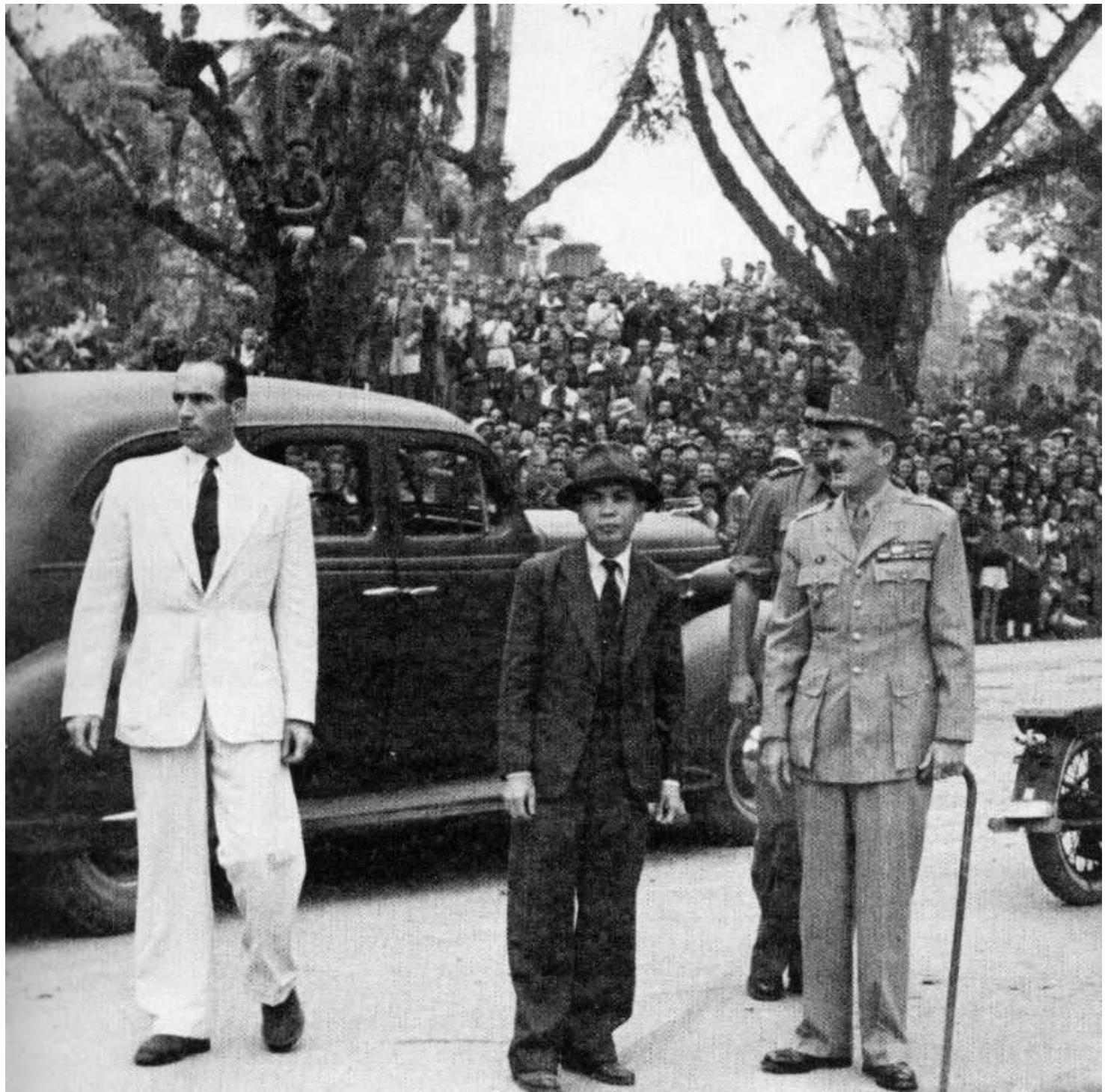


Ho Chi Minh (second from right) shakes hands with Prime Minister of France Georges Bidault (left) in 1946.  
(Photo: <http://warandgame.com/tag/colonial/page/4/>)



*Ho Chi Minh addresses an audience in Paris in 1946, prior to his departure from the French capital following the breakdown of negotiations. Behind him is Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu, the French governor in southern Vietnam, who had maneuvered to subvert the talks with Ho.*

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



Jean Sainteny (left, French Commissioner of Tonkin); Vo Nguyen Giap (center, Ho Chi Minh's Minister of the Interior), and General Jacques Philippe Leclerc (right, Commander of the French forces in the Far East), lead a contingent to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Hanoi, Vietnam in March 1946 (Photo: Jeffrey Blankfort—Jereboam)

# French Indochina War & Dien Bien Phu (1946-1954)



Ho Chi Minh meets with the Vietminh governing council in a cave north of Hanoi and under a portrait of himself during the French Indochina War. (Photo: Ngo Vinh Long Collection)



Lang Fortress, where the first bullet was shot at the Hanoi citadel to kick off the national war of resistance against French on December 19, 1946. (Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)



Command of the Capital Regiment in January 1947.  
(Photo: <http://www.lookatvietnam.com/2010/08/historic-photos-of-hanoi.html>)

*Two senior French officers, General Philippe Leclerc (left) and Admiral Thierry d'Argenlieu, confer in Saigon in 1945 as they plan to reimpose France's rule in Vietnam. Behind d'Argenlieu is General Douglas Gracey, the British commander who was assigned to disarm the Japanese in southern Vietnam.*



*Ho Chi Minh in 1946 with General Leclerc (left) and Jean Sainteny, a French emissary. Sainteny later acted as an intermediary between President Nixon and the Vietnamese Communists in 1969.*



*(Source: Vietnam: A History by Stanley Karnow)*

*Ho Chi Minh gained a major advantage when the Communists conquered China in 1949: he was then able to obtain modern weapons and other assistance directly. Here he eats with Chinese advisers under portraits of himself and Mao Zedong, the Chinese leader.*



(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



A favorite meal with President Ho Chi Minh, General Vo Nguyen Giap (center), and Truong Chinh at the north base in 1947  
(Photo: [http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News\\_English/News\\_Detail\\_E.aspx?CN\\_ID=419442&CO\\_ID=30438](http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News_English/News_Detail_E.aspx?CN_ID=419442&CO_ID=30438))

## DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES IN INDOCHINA

(3 November 1950)



Areas in which Communist-led rebels are challenging government authority.

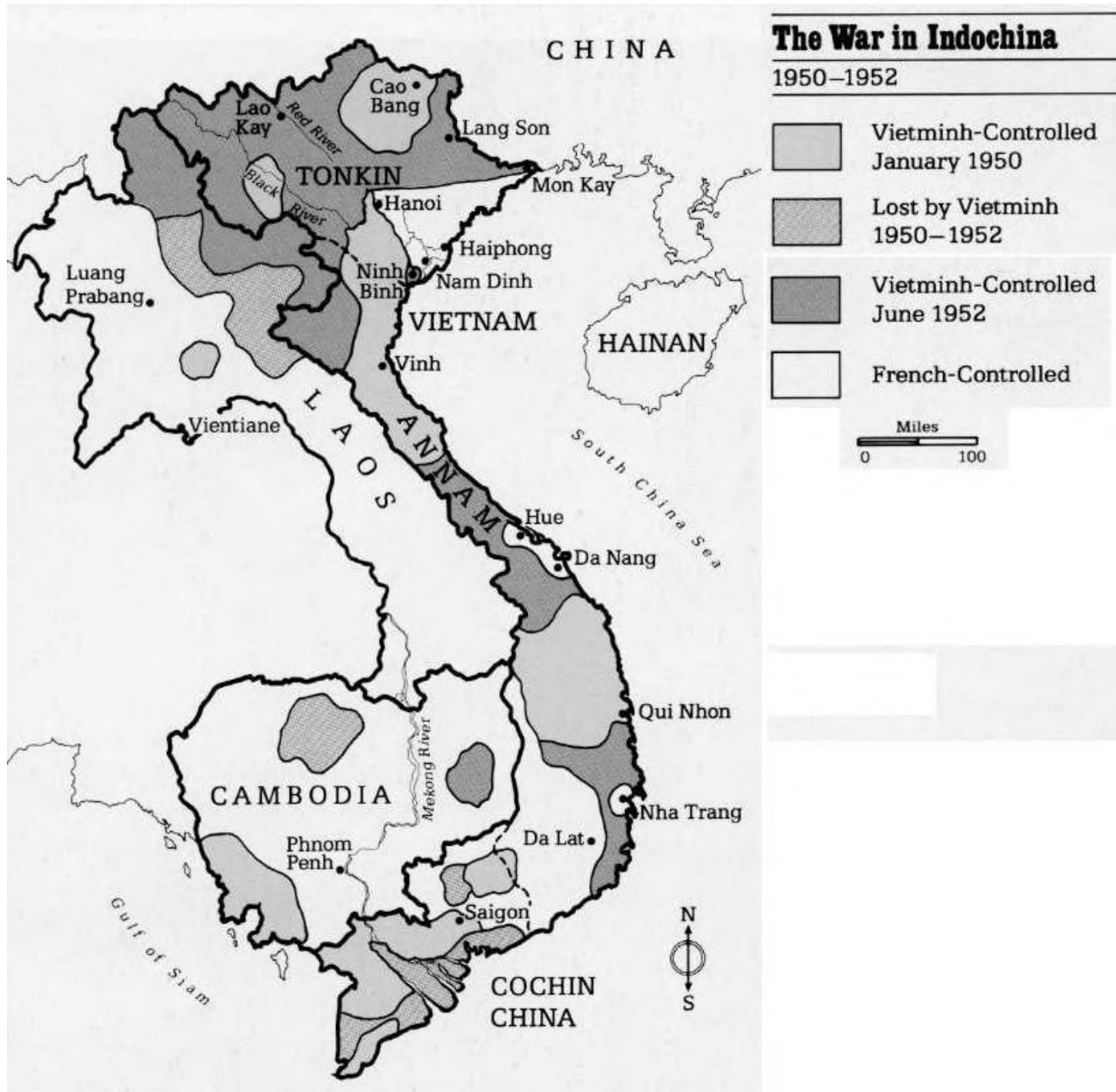


Areas in which Communist-instigated guerrilla attacks have recently occurred.



SOURCE: CIA, NIE-5  
Map Supplement  
5 January 1951

Map of dissident activities in Indochina in 3 November 1950  
CIA, NIE-5 Map Supplement, published as part of the Pentagon papers





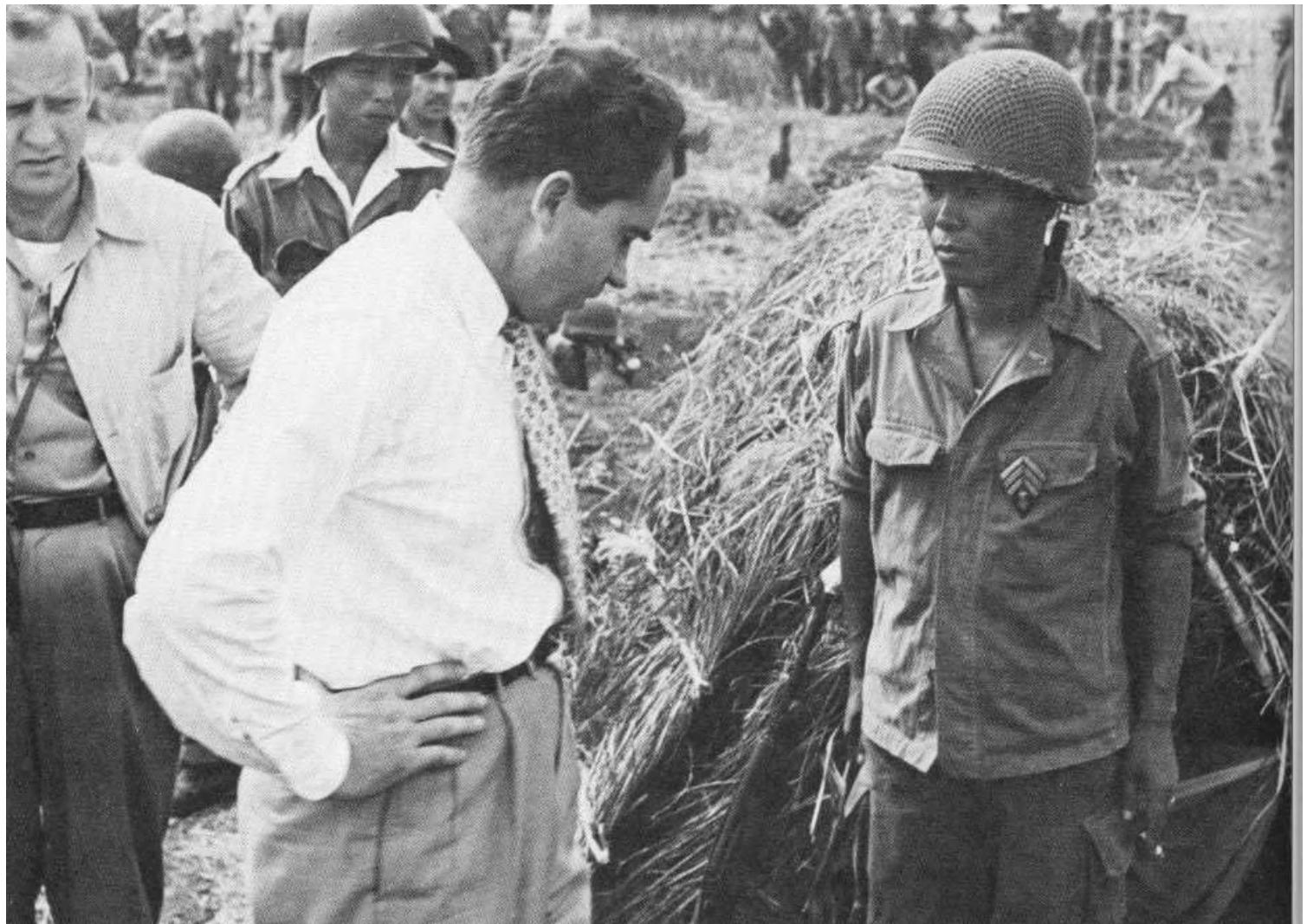
LIFE

U.S. Navy Admiral Russell S. Berkey (left) walks with Emperor of Indo-China Bao Dai (right) along the deck of the U.S.S. Stickell in Saigon, Vietnam in April 1950. (Photo: Carl Mydans/Time Life)



Left to right: U.S. Navy Admiral Russell S. Berkey, Vietnam's Emperor Bao Dai, American diplomat Edmund A. Gullion, and Tran Van Huu (Prime Minister of the State of Vietnam from 1950 to 1952) consult on various issues during their meeting in Saigon, Vietnam in April 1950. Edmund A. Gullion was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Bao Dai died in Paris on July 30, 1997. (Photo: Carl Mydans/Time Life)

Bao Dai was the Emperor of the French protectorate of Annam and later Vietnam during World War II. Bao Dai was the Emperor of the Empire of Vietnam, a Japanese puppet state, from March 11, 1945 to August 23, 1945; the Imperial Japanese Army removed Vichy French colonial administrators from power on March 9, 1945. The capital of the Empire of Vietnam in 1945 was Hue. Both France and Japan colonized Cochin China (including Saigon) while Annam (including Hue and Da Nang) and Tonkin (including Hanoi) were recognized as French (and later Japanese) protectorates. Imperial Japan recognized the independence of Vietnam under the leadership of Bao Dai shortly before Imperial Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945 (Japan time). Bao Dai abdicated and moved to Hong Kong in August 1945 when the Viet Minh, led by Ho Chi Minh, assumed power over Vietnam.



American Vice President Richard Nixon visits Vietnamese nationalist troops in late 1953.  
(Source: Jeffrey Blankfort--Jereboam /*The Vietnam Experience: Passing the Torch*, p. 170)



Surplus U.S. Navy Bearcat fighter planes are towed through the streets of Saigon on February 11, 1951 after they were unloaded from the escort carrier Windham Bay. They were part of a shipment of 44 planes to be used in the fighting against the Communists in French Indo-China. (Photo: Jean-Jacques Levy/Associated Press)

(Source: *The Tumultuous Fifties: A View from The New York Times Photo Archives* by Douglas Dreishpoon and Alan Trachtenberg)



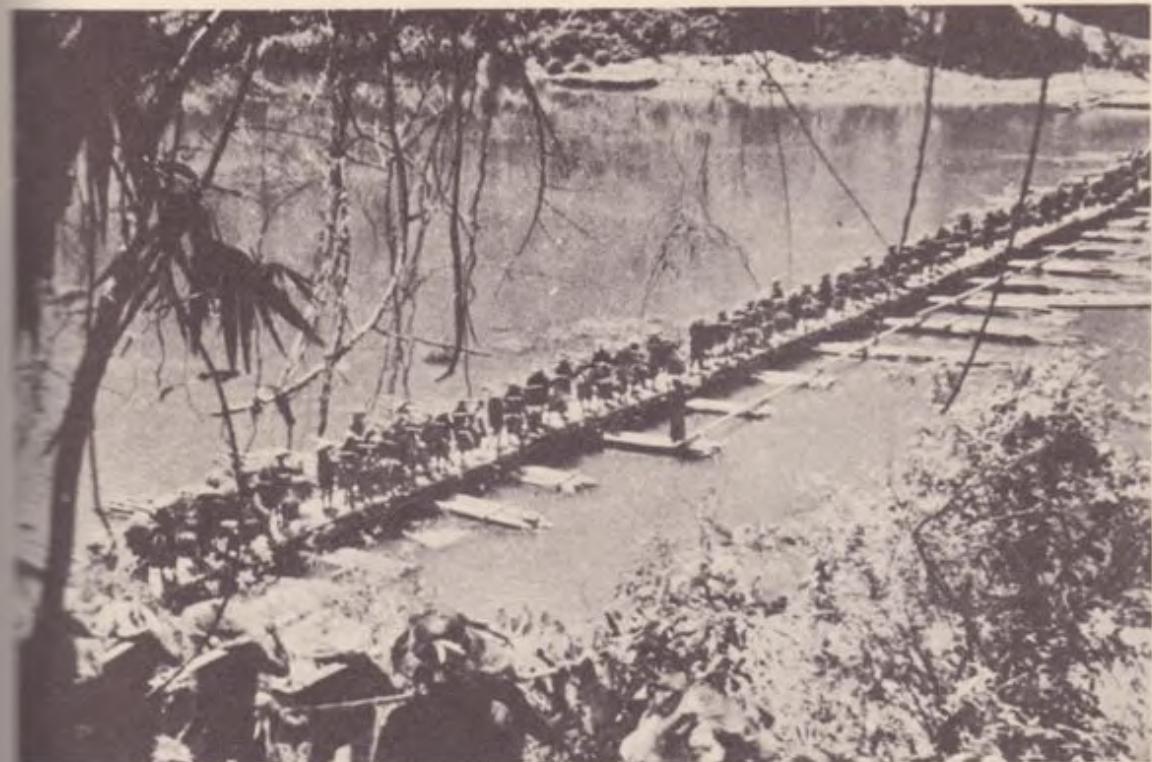
An army drum and bugle corps plays at a street-renaming ceremony in Saigon, Vietnam in 1952.  
(Photo: © J. Baylor Roberts/National Geographic Society/Corbis)



General Henri Navarre (left) chats with Vietnam's Emperor Bao Dai after Bao Dai arrived in Indochina on November 6, 1953.  
(Photo: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



*The French commander in Indochina, General Henri Navarre (right), with a deputy, Major General René Cogny. Navarre's plan to pursue the Vietminh forces in the hinterland led him to deploy French units in the remote northeastern valley of Dienbienphu, near the border of Laos.*



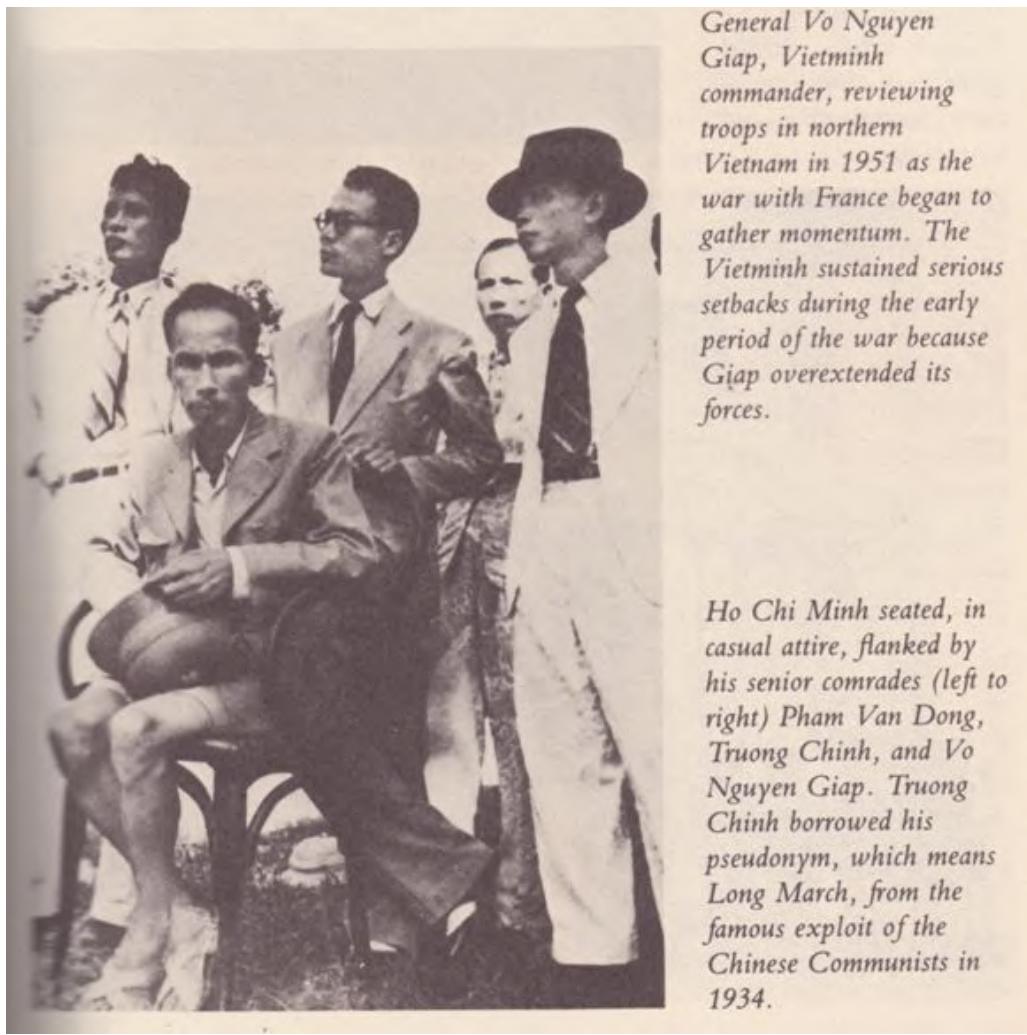
*A Vietminh supply train of bicycles and porters crossing a pontoon bridge en route to Dienbienphu, where Vietnamese forces had encircled a French garrison. The Vietminh also moved cannons onto the hills overlooking the valley of Dienbienphu.*

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



*The Vietminh forces were meticulous in planning battles. Here, using a sand-table model, they prepare an assault against a village fortified by the French and their Vietnamese auxiliaries. Though outgunned by the French, the Vietminh had the advantage of mobility.*

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



General Vo Nguyen Giap, Vietminh commander, reviewing troops in northern Vietnam in 1951 as the war with France began to gather momentum. The Vietminh sustained serious setbacks during the early period of the war because Giap overextended its forces.

Ho Chi Minh seated, in casual attire, flanked by his senior comrades (left to right) Pham Van Dong, Truong Chinh, and Vo Nguyen Giap. Truong Chinh borrowed his pseudonym, which means Long March, from the famous exploit of the Chinese Communists in 1934.

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



General Vo Nguyen Giap received the report regarding the Dien Bien Phu fighting situation  
(Photo: [http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News\\_English/News\\_Detail\\_E.aspx?CN\\_ID=419442&CO\\_ID=30438](http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News_English/News_Detail_E.aspx?CN_ID=419442&CO_ID=30438))



On 6 December 1953, at the north base, President Ho Chi Minh and Party leaders, including General Vo Nguyen Giap, commander of the Vietminh forces, decided to open the Dien Bien Phu campaign

(Photo: [http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News\\_English/News\\_Detail\\_E.aspx?CN\\_ID=419442&CO\\_ID=30438](http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News_English/News_Detail_E.aspx?CN_ID=419442&CO_ID=30438))



General Vo Nguyen Giap and the High Command of the army convened the plan to wipe out all the enemies at Dien Bien Phu. From the left, General Van Tien Dung, Mr. Tran Dang Ninh, top-ranking and the Commander-in-Chief Vo Nguyen Giap, and Head of the General Political Department Nguyen Chi Thanh.

(Photo: [http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News\\_English/News\\_Detail\\_E.aspx?CN\\_ID=419442&CO\\_ID=30438](http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News_English/News_Detail_E.aspx?CN_ID=419442&CO_ID=30438))



*Supplies for the beleaguered French garrison in Dien Bien Phu are parachuted in. The Vietnamese occupied the high ground.*

Battle of Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam in early 1954. The French army surrendered to the Viet Minh on May 8, 1954.



Vietnamese soldiers attack a French military base in an archived photo taken during the Dien Bien Phu campaign in 1954 and now displayed at the Dien Bien Phu Museum in Dien Bien Phu City, Vietnam. The historic Dien Bien Phu battle lasted for 56 days during 1954 and is considered one of the great battles of the 20th century. The French defeat led to the signing of the Geneva Accords on July 21, 1954. (© Dien Bien Phu Museum/Reuters/Corbis)



to Saigon. One month later, in July, after the outbreak of war in Korea, the first members of the United States Military Assistance and Advisory Group (MAAG) arrived in Saigon. It was the beginning of a buildup of American forces in Vietnam that would eventually reach 550,000 troops at the height of the war in 1968.

The first Indochina war ended on May 8, 1954, with the defeat of the French at Dien Bien Phu in northwestern Vietnam. In a classic military battle lasting 56 days, the Viet Minh led by General Vo Nguyen Giap smashed the French forces and with them France's hopes of regaining its colony. During the siege, President Dwight D. Eisenhower had nearly been persuaded to order American air strikes in support of the French. Unable to secure approval for the operation from the major United States allies, he abandoned the idea even though he felt Indochina was vital to American interests.



*Top: December 2, 1953. A helicopter hovers over a battalion command post at the start of Operation Castor which established the French base at Dien Bien Phu. Middle: French and Vietnamese forces patrol north of Dien Bien Phu in February, 1954. Bottom: French soldiers at Dien Bien Phu run for cover as communist artillery pounds their positions. Intended as an offensive base situated to lure Giap and the Viet Minh out into the open, Dien Bien Phu backfired on the French, resulting in their worst defeat of the war. Far right: French Union paratroopers search a wooded area near Dien Bien Phu.*



*With the Vietminh shelling them from the hazy hills in the distance, the French forces at Dienbienphu tried to survive in trenches reminiscent of World War I. But the Vietminh gradually approached the French garrison by digging tunnels.*

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



Under the guard of Communist Viet Minh troops, French and Vietnamese prisoners of war march from the battlefields of Dien Bien Phu on July 28, 1954. The 1954 battle of Dien Bien Phu marked the fall of French Indochina. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Senior Vietminh delegate Gen. Van Tien Dung (left) addresses cease-fire talks between the Vietminh and French Union forces in the village of Trung Gia, 25 miles north of Hanoi, in July 1954. Photographers were excluded from the hut after the opening day of talks.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page6](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page6))



Cease-fire meetings open at Trung Gia, 25 miles north of Hanoi, on July 4, 1954. In the top photo, Gen. Van Tien Dung (seated left), head of the Vietminh delegation, meets with his delegates in their quarters, decorated with a photo of Ho Chi Minh, a Vietminh flag, and a parachute they said was taken at Dien Bien Phu.

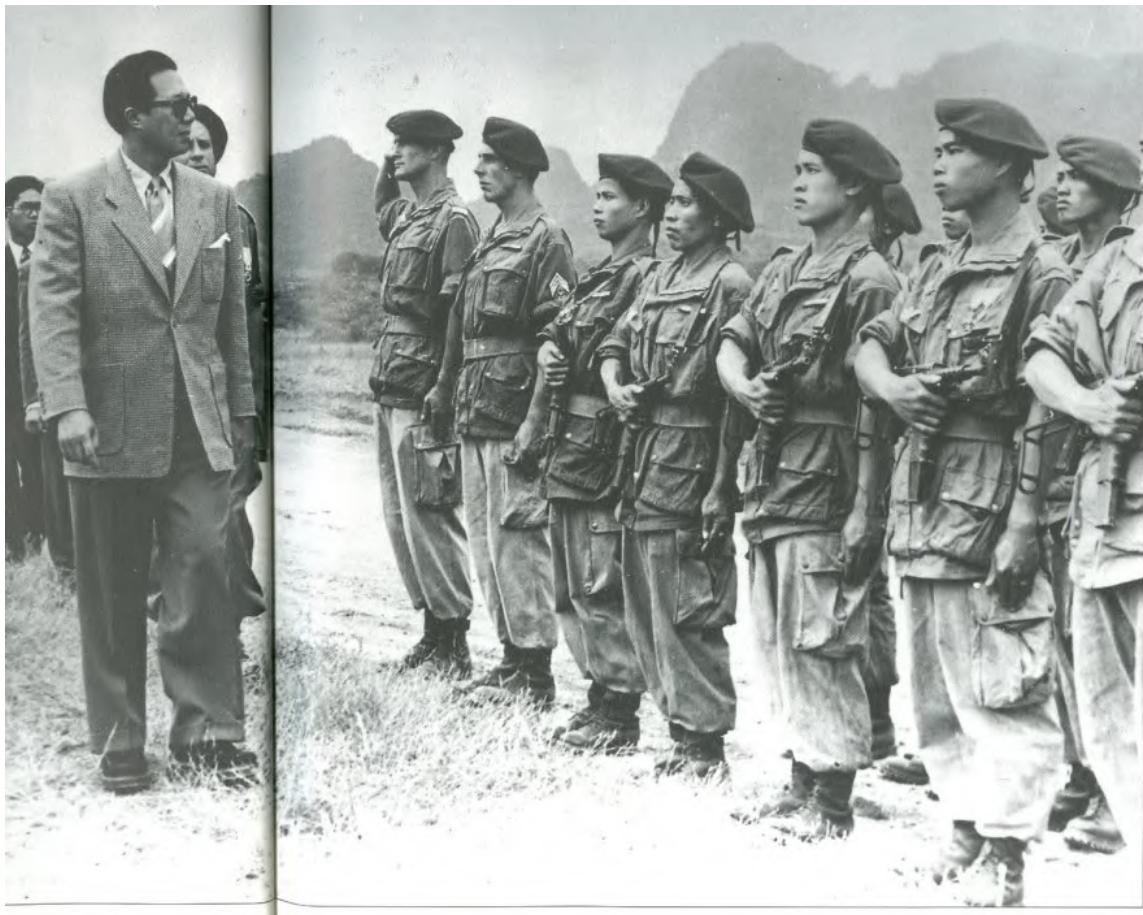
(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page6](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page6))



Emperor of Vietnam Bao Dai receives an oath of allegiance from the Vietnam National Army In an imposing military ceremony in Hanoi, State of Vietnam on April 17, 1954. Numerous officials of France, Vietnam and other nations were on hand as Emperor Bao Dai reviews a unit of the army as Generalinh points them out. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



French army officer De Tassigny (left) and South Vietnam's Emperor Bao-Dai (right) are seen drinking from a straw during a meeting in Vietnam on May 7, 1954. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



*A dapper Emperor Bao Dai, dressed in crepe-soled shoes and a sports jacket better suited to his Parisian haunts than the combat zone, reviews French-led Vietnamese paratroops inside the Hoa Binh perimeter, in December 1951. Behind him is General René Cogny.*

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page57](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page57))



Soldiers of the army of the State of Vietnam observe the anniversary of the union of their state with France and other Indo-Chinese states (Cambodia and Laos) with a military parade in Hanoi, Vietnam on June 12, 1954, just over a month after the Viet Minh defeated the French army at Dien Bien Phu on May 8.

# Geneva Conference & The Partition of Vietnam



The opening session at the Geneva Conference on Far East problems begins on April 27, 1954, with Anthony Eden leading the British delegation (top left), Vyacheslav Molotov and Andrei Gromyko leading the Soviet delegation (top right), and Chou En-lai of the Chinese Communist delegation (center). (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)



Diplomats attend the Geneva Conference in April 1954. (Frank Scherschel/Time Life)



America's Under Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith (center, foreground) and other members of the American delegation to the Geneva Conference listen to the opening of the first session of the Indo-China Peace Talks between France and Indo-China (Vietnam) at the Palace of Nations in Geneva, Switzerland on May 8, 1954. Seated at right is Walter Robertson, America's Assistant Secretary of State. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Diplomats meet together for the Peace Talks at the Geneva Conference prior to the signing of the "Geneva Accords" in Geneva, Switzerland in July 1954. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Prime Minister of France Pierre Mendes-France (left), who attended the Bilderberg Meetings in 1968, shakes hands with Chinese Communist envoy Chou Enlai at the Geneva conference in Geneva, Switzerland in July 1954. (Photo: Frank Scherschel/Time Life)

LIFE



Left to right: General Nam II of North Korea; Soviet Union Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Chou Enlai of Red China, and Vietminh Foreign Minister Pham Van Dong appear at Chou's villa during peace talks in Geneva, Switzerland in July 1954. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)

Geneva Conference on Indochina. *Left to right:* Dulles, French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, French aide Jean Chauvel, British aide Lord Reading, U.S. Ass't. Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith. April 1954.

*(Associated Press photo.)*



Diplomats prepare to meet at the Geneva Conference on Indochina in April 1954. From left to right: Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, French aide Jean Chauvel, British aide Lord Reading, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Walter Bedell Smith. Dulles and Smith were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (AP Photo)



Left to right: U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, and British Foreign Minister Lord Robert Cecil Salisbury laugh together during the Foreign Ministers Conference in Washington, D.C. in July 1953. (Photo: George Skadding /Time Life)



British Foreign Secretary Sir Harold MacMillan (left), French Foreign Secretary Antoine Pinay (center), and American Secretary of State John Foster Dulles appear at the Geneva Conference on November 3, 1955. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)



Emperor of the State of Vietnam Bao Dai delivers a speech in Hanoi in 1954. Hanoi was the capital of French Indochina and the State of Vietnam until 1954. (Photo: Howard Sochurek/Time Life)



Left: The palace of Emperor Bao Dai in Hanoi with the State of Vietnam flag displayed on a flag pole in 1954  
(Photo: Howard Sochurek/Time Life)



Right: The Vietnamese imperial guards of Emperor Bao Dai in Hanoi in 1954.



Streets crowded with people after cease-fire announced in Hanoi, Vietnam in July 1954.  
(Photo: Howard Sochurek/Time Life)



Vietnamese troops (State of Vietnam army troops?) retreat from Hamdinh to Hanoi, Vietnam in July 1954.  
(Photo: Howard Sochurek/Time Life)



French troops (foreground) evacuate Hanoi, Vietnam as Vietminh troops enter the city in October 1954.  
(Photo: Howard Sochurek/Time Life)



French troops prepare to leave the city of Hanoi in October 1954 after ceding territory to Communist Vietminh guerillas.  
(Photo: Howard Sochurek/Time Life)



USS Montague lowers a ladder over the side to French LSM to take Vietnamese refugees aboard in Haiphong, Vietnam in August 1954. PH1 H.S. Hemphill. (Navy) Public Domain (Defense Visual Information Center): <http://www.dodmedia.osd.mil/>  
Source: [http://www.dodmedia.osd.mil/DVIC\\_View/Still\\_Details.cfm?SDAN=HDSN9902045&JPGPath=/Assets/Still/1999/DoD/HD-SN-99-02045.JPG](http://www.dodmedia.osd.mil/DVIC_View/Still_Details.cfm?SDAN=HDSN9902045&JPGPath=/Assets/Still/1999/DoD/HD-SN-99-02045.JPG)

Photo # 80-G-709239 Sign welcomes Vietnamese refugees on board USS Bayfield, Sept. 1954



**Operation "Passage to Freedom", 1954-1955:** Four crewmen display a welcoming banner for Vietnamese refugees coming on board USS *Bayfield* (APA-33) for passage to Saigon, Indochina, from Haiphong, 3 September 1954.

*Official U.S. Navy Photograph, now in the collections of the National Archives.*

<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/sh-usn/usnsh-b/apa33-k.htm>



Vietnamese refugees board LST 516 for their journey from Haiphong, North Vietnam, to Saigon, South Vietnam during Operation Passage to Freedom in October 1954. This operation evacuated thousands of Vietnamese refugees from the newly created Communist North Vietnam to the Democratic South Vietnam. By the end of the operation, the U.S. Navy had carried to freedom more than 293,000 immigrants, vehicles, and other cargo. The Naval Historical Center and Surface Navy Association are seeking Navy veterans and former Vietnamese refugees who witnessed and participated in this little known rescue.

(U.S. Navy Photo, RELEASED) [http://www.navy.mil/view\\_single.asp?id=8346](http://www.navy.mil/view_single.asp?id=8346)

Photo # 80-G-639980 Serving Vietnamese refugees on board USS Bayfield, Aug. 1954



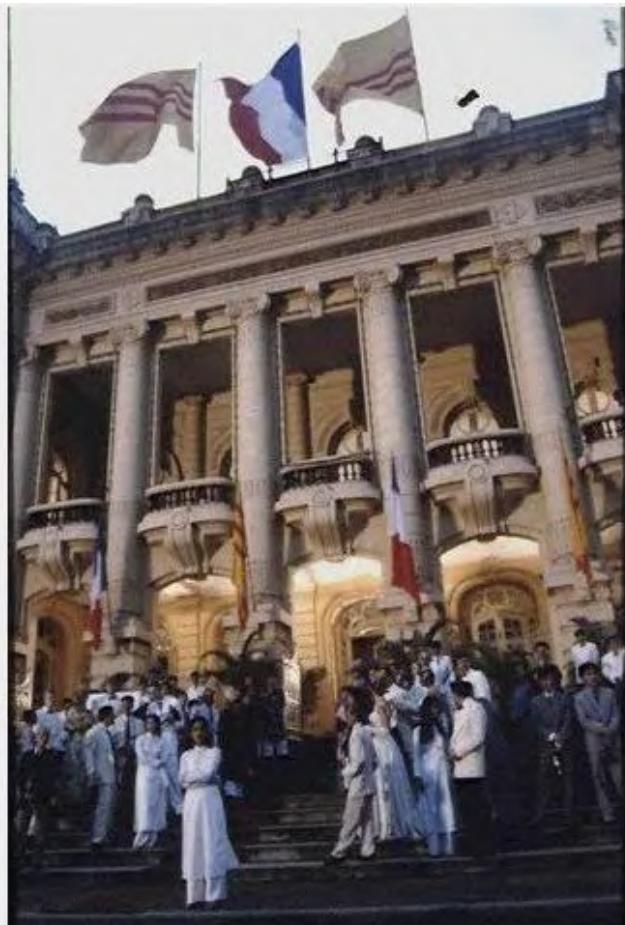
**Operation "Passage to Freedom", 1954-1955:** Vietnamese refugee in a topsides food service line on board USS *Bayfield* (APA-33), while en route from to Saigon, Indochina in August 1954.

(Official U.S. Navy Photograph, now in the collections of the National Archives)

<http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/sh-usn/usnsh-b/apa33-k.htm>



USS Bayfield Saigon 1954 (Photo: [http://phanthanh.multiply.com/photos/album/55/1954\\_VIETNAM\\_EXODUS#photo=49](http://phanthanh.multiply.com/photos/album/55/1954_VIETNAM_EXODUS#photo=49))



HaNoi (Hanoi) opera house in 1954, with the French and State of Vietnam (later Republic of Vietnam/South Vietnam) flags displayed together. (Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page61](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page61))



(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page61](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page61))



French army officers salute to a group of Vietnamese soldiers at an airport in Hanoi in 1954, shortly after the French began withdrawing from Vietnam altogether. (Photo: Time Life)



Hanoi in late 1954, following the surrender of the French colonial government (and military) to the Viet Minh  
(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page61](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page61))

communist chinese in  
HaNoi 1954



(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page61](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page61))



Communist Chinese and Vietnamese troops moved into Hanoi in "made in China" trucks (Photo: Time Life)

[http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page61](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page61)



The first group of Vietminh troops march into the former French colonial capital of Hanoi on October 9, 1954, while elsewhere in Hanoi, the French were withdrawing under the terms of the Geneva Conference.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page6](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page6))



A smiling Vietminh and a French officer stand together on a rainy Hanoi street on October 10, 1954 as the communist-led Vietminh assumed control of northern Indochina under the terms of the armistice negotiated in Geneva, Switzerland.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page6](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page6))



French troops lower their flag for the last time in Hanoi, Vietnam, the former capital of the French colony of Indochina, in October 1954. (Photo: Howard Sochurek)



A Vietminh soldier patrols in front of the American consulate in Hanoi, Vietnam in October 1954.  
(Photo: Howard Sochurek/Time Life)



LIFE

Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru with Vietminh soldiers in Hanoi, Vietnam in October 1954.  
(Photo: Howard Sochurek/Time Life)



A French patrol stands at left, ready to move off, as Communist Vietminh troops move in to take over Haiphong, the big port for the northern Vietnam capital of Hanoi, on May 20, 1955. In accordance with the Geneva Treaty which partitioned Vietnam as Korea was partitioned, Haiphong was one of the last places to be evacuated by the French and Southern Vietnamese. The Communist vanguard is in single file in background. (Image by © Bettmann/CORBIS)



A photograph of a main street in Hanoi, North Vietnam on February 12, 1956 shows that public transportation is principally on foot or bicycle. This photograph was one of the few photos which came out of Communist-controlled Hanoi, North Vietnam. A handful of Canadians were still in Hanoi in early 1956 as part of the Indo-China truce team although their movements were restricted. (Image by © Bettmann/CORBIS)



LIFE

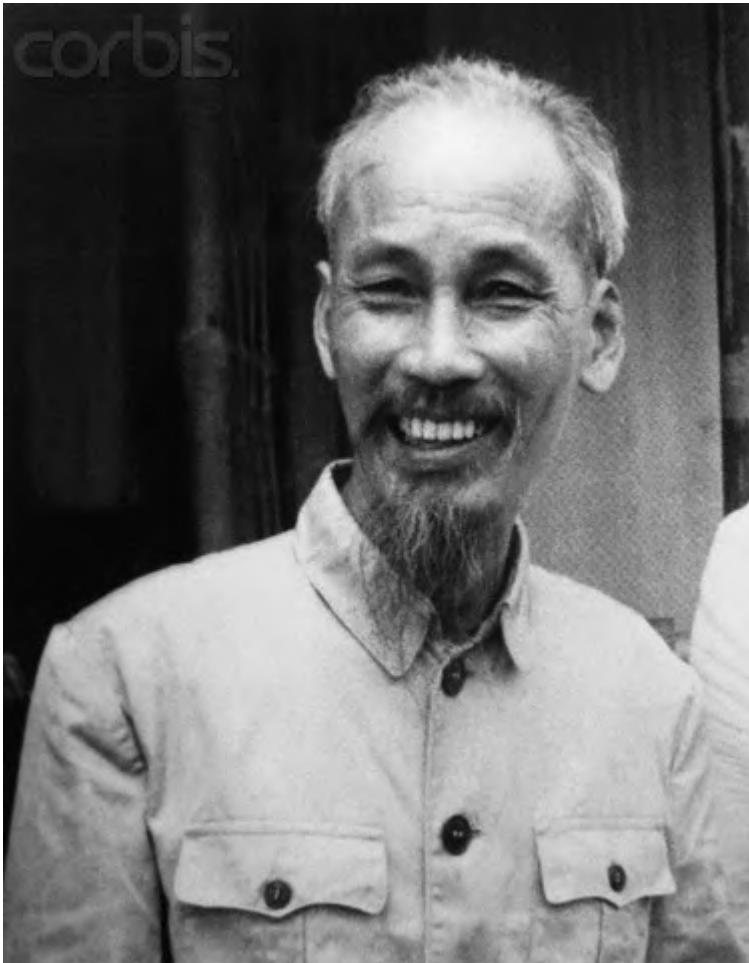
The flag of North Vietnam and the flag of South Vietnam fly on the opposite sides of the De-Militarized Zone in 1961.  
(Photo: Howard Sochurek/Time Life)



Hien Luong Bridge over the Ben Hai River in Vietnam. Vietnam was divided into two nations along the 17<sup>th</sup> Parallel and the Ben Hai River in 1954 following the defeat of the French army at Dien Bien Phu; the De-Militarized Zone was located along the Ben Hai River.

## The Four Leaders of the Partitioned Vietnam

corbis.



Leaders of Communist North Vietnam: Ho Chi Minh (left) and Vietminh Foreign Minister Pham Van Dong



Leaders of Anti-Communist South Vietnam: Emperor Bao Dai (left) and Ngo Dinh Diem

# NGO DINH DIEM & SOUTH VIETNAM

## Part 1: Binh Xuyen Uprising and Consolidation of Power



Anti-Bao Dai Group seizes a general of the Vietnamese Army in Saturday Revolution in Saigon in 1955.  
(Photo: Howard Sochurek/Time Life)



South Vietnam's General Trinh Minh Thé was assassinated by a "lone gunman" on May 3, 1955.



Troops of American-backed Premier Ngo Dinh Diem and the Binh Xuyen gang fought a brief street battle in Saigon, South Vietnam on April 24, 1955, as a South Vietnamese army soldier stands guard over a suspect after the fighting had died down. The fighting took place on the opposite side of the European residential district from the boulevard Gallien while the general anarchy increased as gangs of thugs roamed the streets of Saigon kidnapping civilians and extorting ransoms. (Photo: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



*Ngo Dinh Diem consolidated his power by defeating the Binh Xuyen, a private gang supported by the French. Diem's forces clashed with the Binh Xuyen in the streets of Saigon, devastating the city.*

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



A Vietnamese Paratrooper takes cover as refugees flee the Cholon district (Chinese district) of Saigon during fighting with rebel Binh Xuyen on April 29, 1955.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))



A Vietnamese mother and her children flee to another area of Saigon during the brief violent Binh Xuyen uprising in Saigon, South Vietnam in May 1955. (Photo: Howard Sochurek)



Some 300,000 people applauded Vietnamese army troops during parade to celebrate their victory of the Binh Xuyen rebels in the swamps south of Saigon. The battle was an important victory for the Diem regime.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))



South Vietnamese troops train with American military weapons in June 1955.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))



South Vietnamese Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, fresh from victory in his struggles for power, greets villagers in June 1955 during a visit to the coastal town of Binh Dinh.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))



September 1955 - Infantry men stand at attention in water as Premier Ngo Dinh Diem makes a tour of the troops in the Rung Sat swamp to thank the men who defeated the rebel Binh Xuyen forces.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))



A crowd outside Independence Palace in Saigon listens as Ngo Dinh Diem proclaims the new Republic of South Vietnam on October 26, 1955, with himself as president and prime minister. Ngo received 98 percent of the votes in the referendum against the absentee emperor, Bao Dai. (Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))



Premier Ngo Dinh Diem proclaims himself as president on October 26, 1955 during ceremonies in Saigon that followed his victory in a referendum.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))



Vietnamese in Saigon, Republic of Vietnam rejoice as their country becomes a republic on November 2, 1955. Saigon town hall is bedecked after the declaration of the polls with a huge photograph of Ngo Dinh Diem, giving the actual figures of his tremendous victory.  
(Image by © Bettmann/CORBIS)



Crowds gather in Saigon, South Vietnam on October 26, 1955 to celebrate the proclamation of the new Republic of Vietnam. In a referendum held three days before, the people voted overwhelmingly for Ngo Dinh Diem as their Chief of State. (Image by © CORBIS)

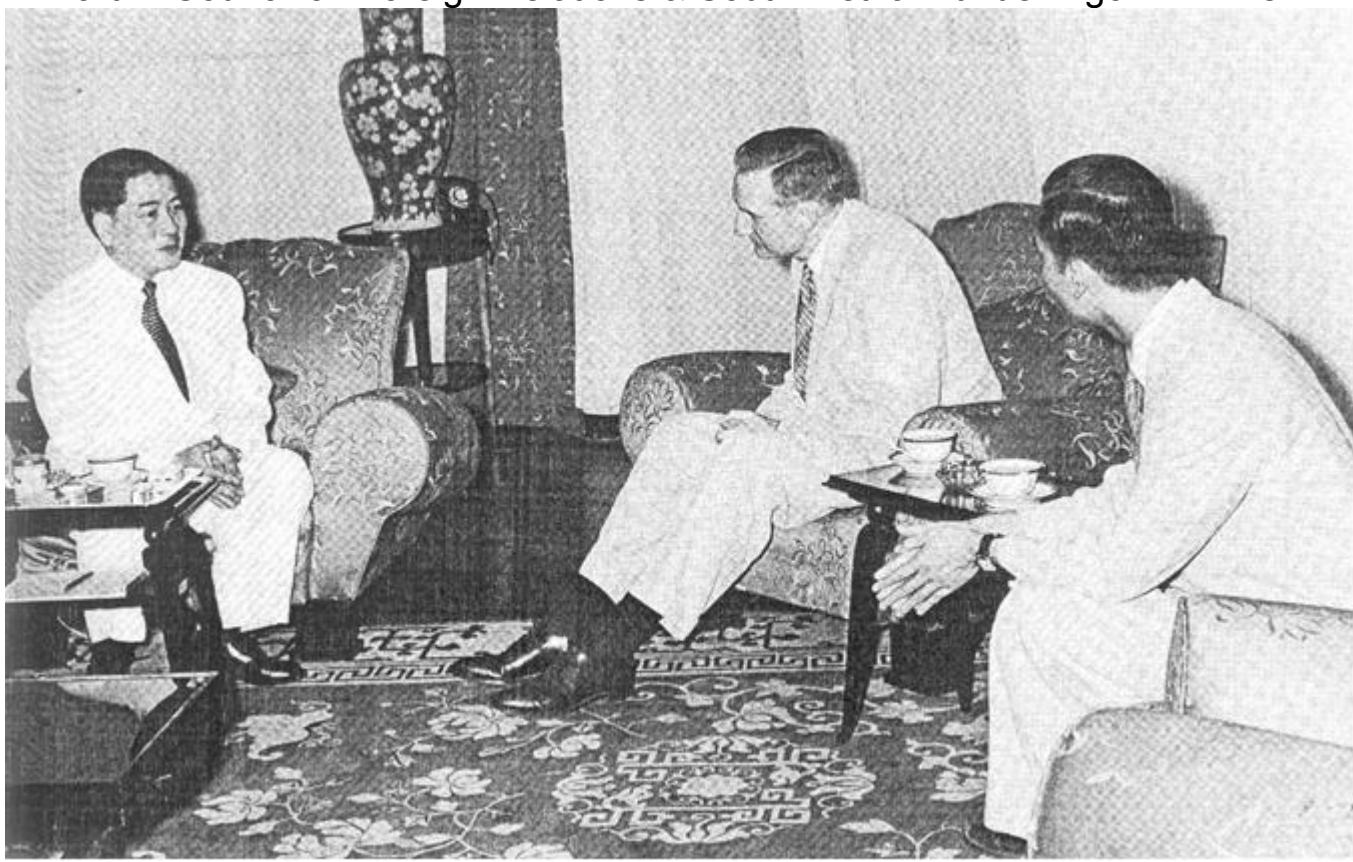


South Korea's President Syngman Rhee (left) and South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem meet together in Saigon during a two day state visit by Syngman Rhee to the Republic of Vietnam in 1958. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS)



South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem (front left), is greeted upon his arrival at the airport in Taipei, Republic of China (Taiwan) by Republic of China's President Chiang Kai-shek on January 22, 1960. The South Vietnamese president was making an official five-day state visit to the Republic of China. (Bettmann/CORBIS)

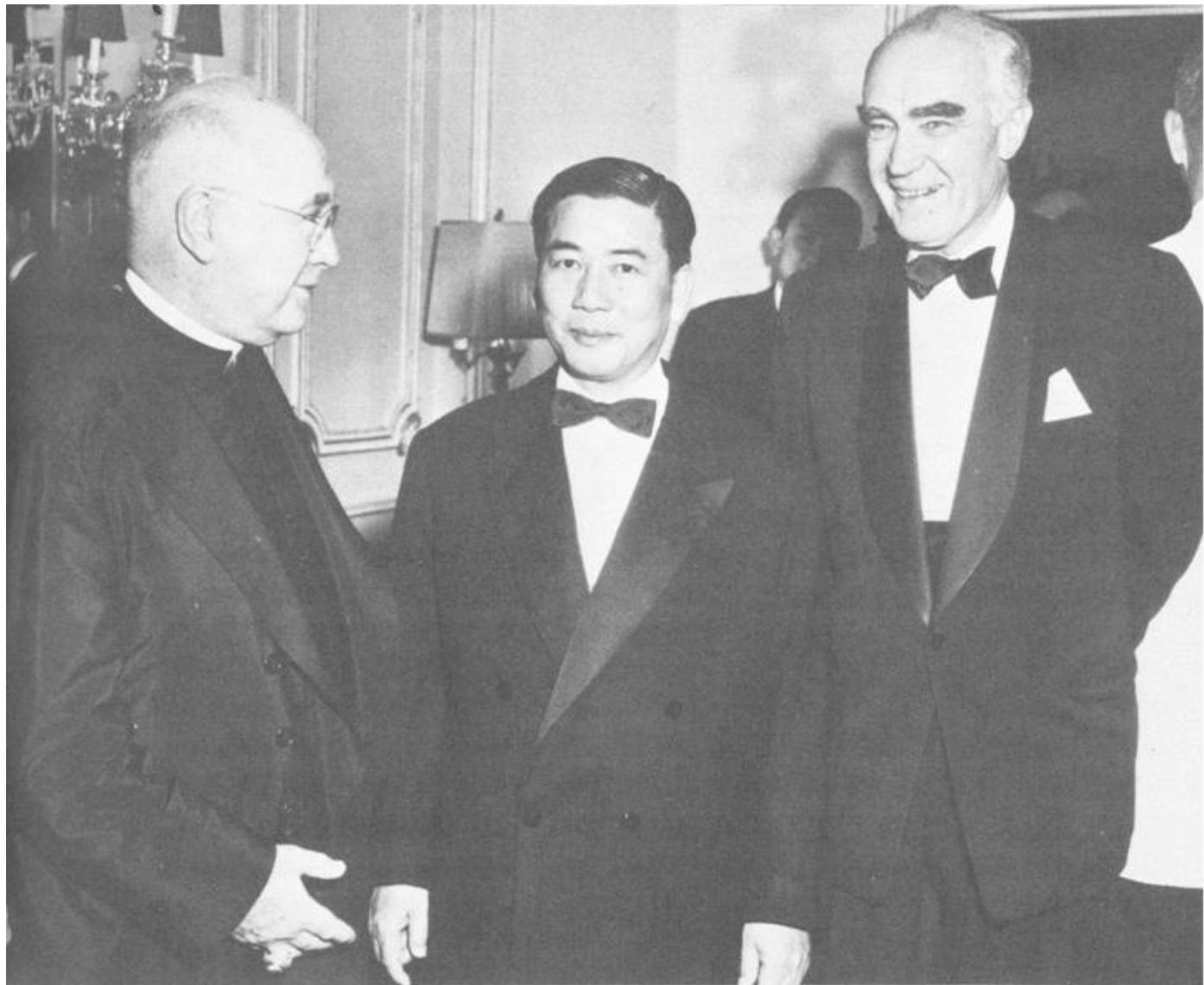
## Part 2: Council on Foreign Relations & South Vietnam under Ngo Dinh Diem



John Rockefeller III (center) visits South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem (left) in Saigon on February 3, 1957.



President Dwight Eisenhower shakes hands with South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem on May 8, 1957. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is standing between Eisenhower and Diem.



Cardinal Francis Spellman (left) and Henry Luce (right), the Editor-in-Chief of *Time* magazine, stand beside South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem. Henry Luce was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a member of Skull & Bones, a secret society at Yale University.



Retired U.S. Army General Maxwell D. Taylor chats with President of South Vietnam Ngo Dinh Diem in Saigon, South Vietnam on October 23, 1961. Maxwell Taylor would be recalled back to active duty to serve as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff the following year. (Photo: *Swords and Plowshares* by Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor (1972))

At 1955 ceremony in Saigon. *Front row, left to right:* General "Iron Mike" O'Daniel, U.S. Ambassador Frederick Reinhardt, Prime Minister Diem. Author is removing cap.

François Sully—Black Star



CIA agent and U.S. Air Force Colonel (later Major General) Edward G. Lansdale (center) and U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Frederick Reinhardt were members of the Council on Foreign Relations.

(Source: *In The Midst of Wars: An American's Mission to Southeast Asia* by Maj. Gen. Edward Geary Lansdale, USAF (retired))



South Vietnam's Premier Ngo Dinh Diem (center) converses with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles (left) in Saigon, South Vietnam in March 1955. (Photo: Howard Sochurek/Time Life)



LIFE

U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (right) talk with Ngo Dinh Nhu (left) at a diplomatic reception in Saigon, South Vietnam in September 1963. (Photo: Larry Burrows/[Time Life](#))

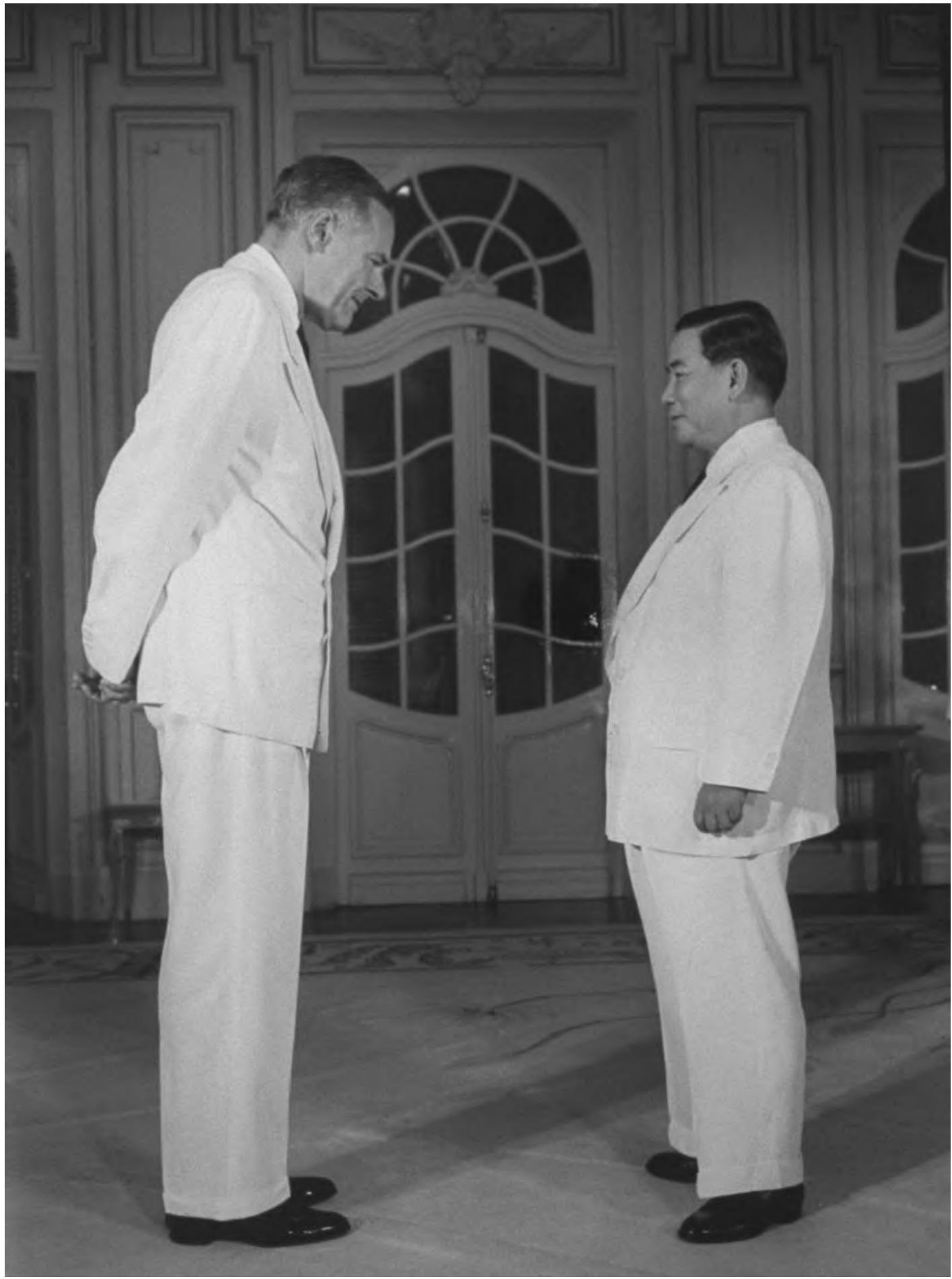


LIFE

U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. appears with acting Foreign Minister of South Vietnam Truong Cong Cuu (left) at a diplomatic reception in Saigon, South Vietnam in September 1963. (Photo: Larry Burrows/Time Life)



U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (left) meet with President of South Vietnam Ngo Dinh Diem in Saigon, Vietnam in September 1963. (Photo: Larry Burrows/[Time Life](#))



U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (L) meets with Ngo Dinh Diem, the President of South Vietnam, in Saigon, South Vietnam in September 1963. (Photo: Larry Burrows/Time Life)

### Part 3: South Vietnam & American “Assistance”

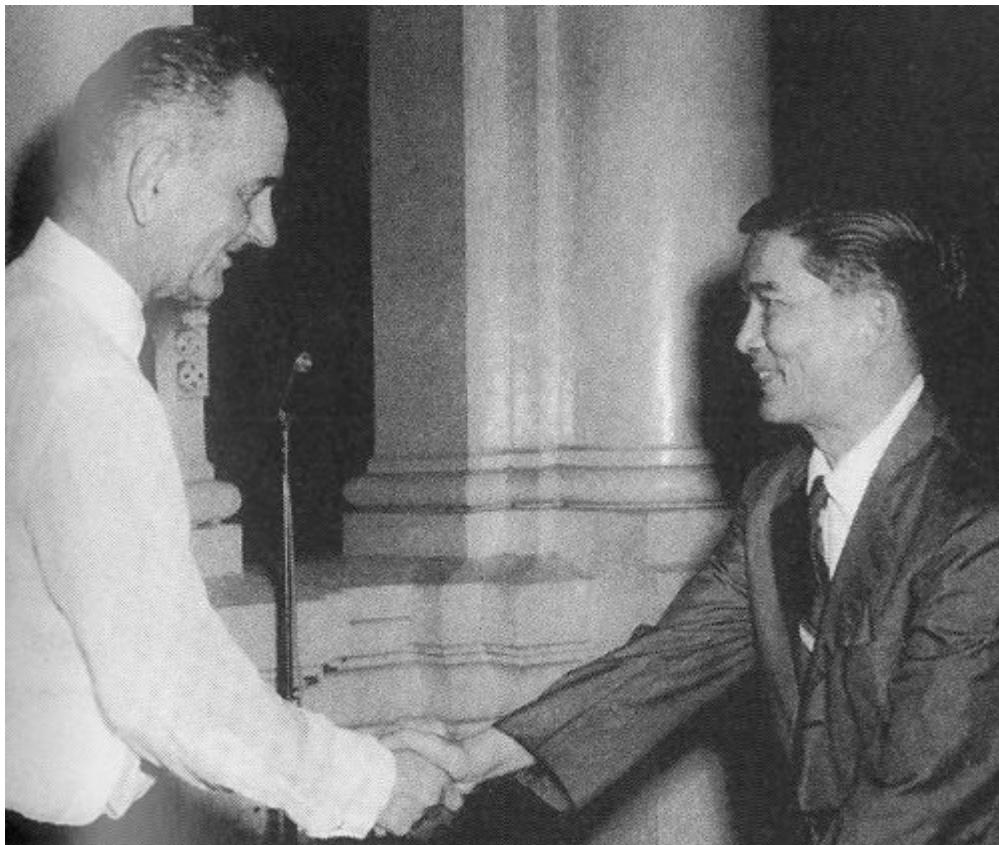


American Vice President Lyndon Baines Johnson meets with South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem and U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam Frederick Nolting in Saigon, South Vietnam in 1961. Nolting was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Source: *JFK and Vietnam: Deception, Intrigue, and The Struggle for Power* by John M. Newman (1992))



Vice President Lyndon Johnson among crowds of South Vietnamese,  
May 1961 (Courtesy of Howard Burris)

(Source: *JFK and Vietnam: Deception, Intrigue, and The Struggle for Power* by John M. Newman (1992))



Vice President Lyndon B Johnson meets Ngo Dinh Nhu at Gia Long Palace in Saigon on May 12, 1961.  
(Photo: Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library, Work by U.S. Embassy. Scanned from book *Death of a Generation* by Howard Jones)



President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam, on a state visit to the United States, views San Francisco from a sightseeing boat passing beneath the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge on May 7, 1957. With him are Lt. Gen. John W. O'Daniel (ret.), left, chairman of the American Friends for Vietnam, and Robert Blum, head of the Asia Foundation. Robert Blum was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

*of his early trips into the South Vietnamese countryside. Despite his careful expression, Diem disliked such expeditions, which were urged on him by his American advisers, who thought he lacked the "common touch."*

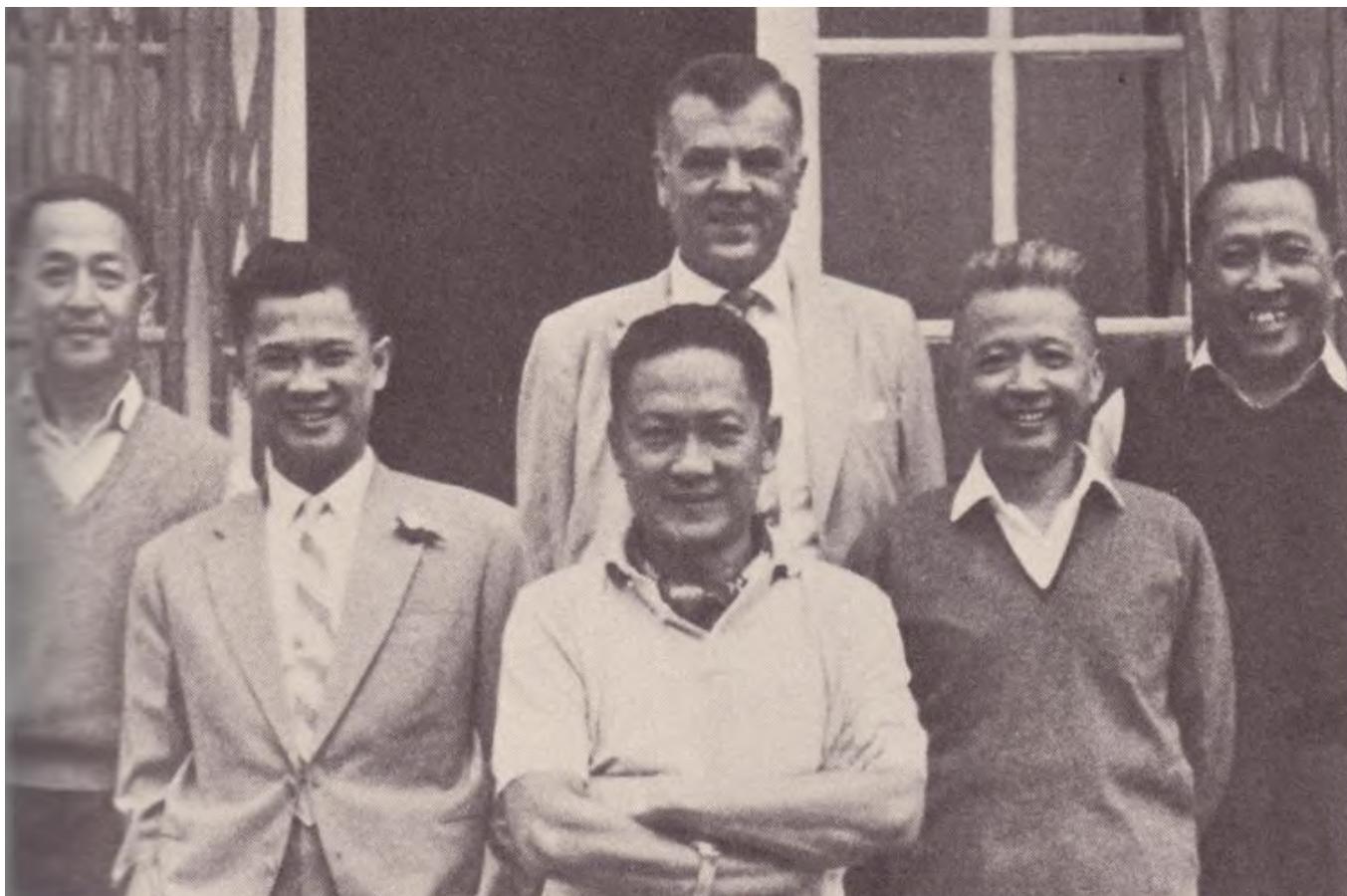
*Ngo Dinh Diem waves to a New York City lunchtime crowd as a parade in his honor proceeds up Broadway in May 1957. Very few Americans could then find Vietnam on a map.*



South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem visits New York City in May 1957. (Photo: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



South Vietnam's President owed his political survival largely to U.S. Air Force Colonel (later Major General) Edward Lansdale (near left), an American air force officer attached to the Central Intelligence Agency. (Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



Lieutenant Colonel Lucien Conein (rear) was a CIA agent who served as liaison with the South Vietnamese generals who conspired to overthrow Diem. His special contact was General Tran Van Don (center). Both were born in France and had been friends for years. Others (left to right) are Generals Le Van Kim, Ton That Dinh, Nguyen Van Vy, and Mai Huu Xuan. (Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



Nguyyan Dinh Thuan, Chief Cabinet Minister to President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam, confers with President John F. Kennedy at the White House in Washington, D.C. on June 14, 1961. Thuan delivered a letter from President Ngo Dinh Diem dealing with the Communist threat to his country. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



United States Senator Edward M. "Ted" Kennedy (D-Massachusetts) and his wife, Joan Kennedy (center), chat with Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu after attending a luncheon in Belgrade, Yugoslavia on September 13, 1963. Senator Kennedy and Madame Nhu, the First Lady of South Vietnam, attended the 52nd session of the Interparliamentary (Union conference) in Belgrade. Senator Kennedy, the youngest brother of President John F. Kennedy, said Madame Nhu "discussed at length her side of the picture" in her family's handling of Buddhist opposition in South Vietnam. Madame Nhu was the sister-in-law of South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem. (Image: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



President John F. Kennedy (left) meets with the South Vietnam's Secretary of State Nguyen Dinh Thuan at the White House on June 14, 1961. ([White House photo by Robert Knudsen](#))



President John F. Kennedy meets with Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist Prime Minister of Laos at the White House in September 1963. (Source: *American Tragedy: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Origins of the Vietnam War* by David Kaiser)



President John F. Kennedy speaks with U.S. Ambassador to Laos Winthrop G. Brown. Winthrop G. Brown was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a graduate of Yale University.

(Photo: *American Tragedy: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Origins of the Vietnam War* by David Kaiser)

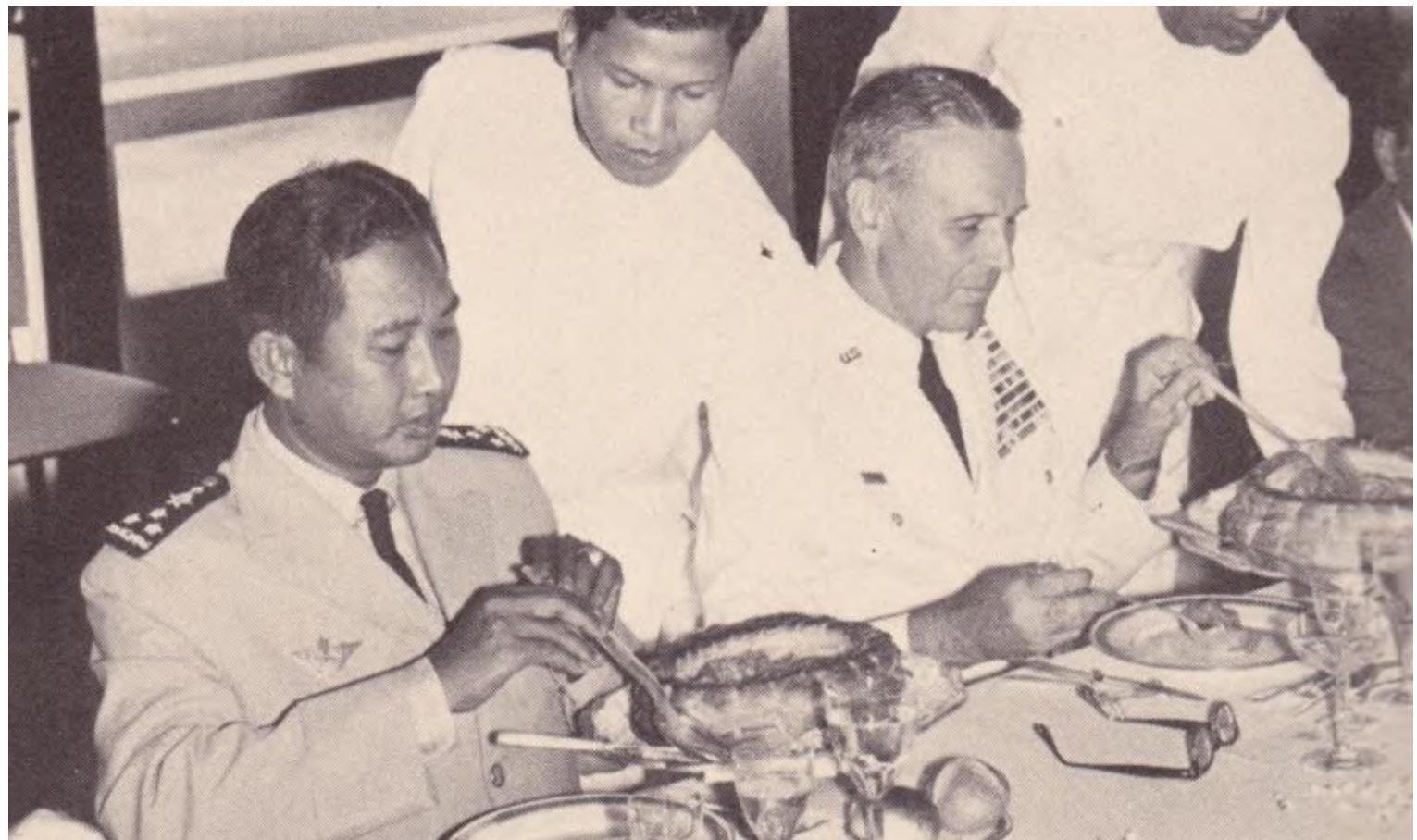


President John F. Kennedy meets with U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. at the White House on August 15, 1963. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

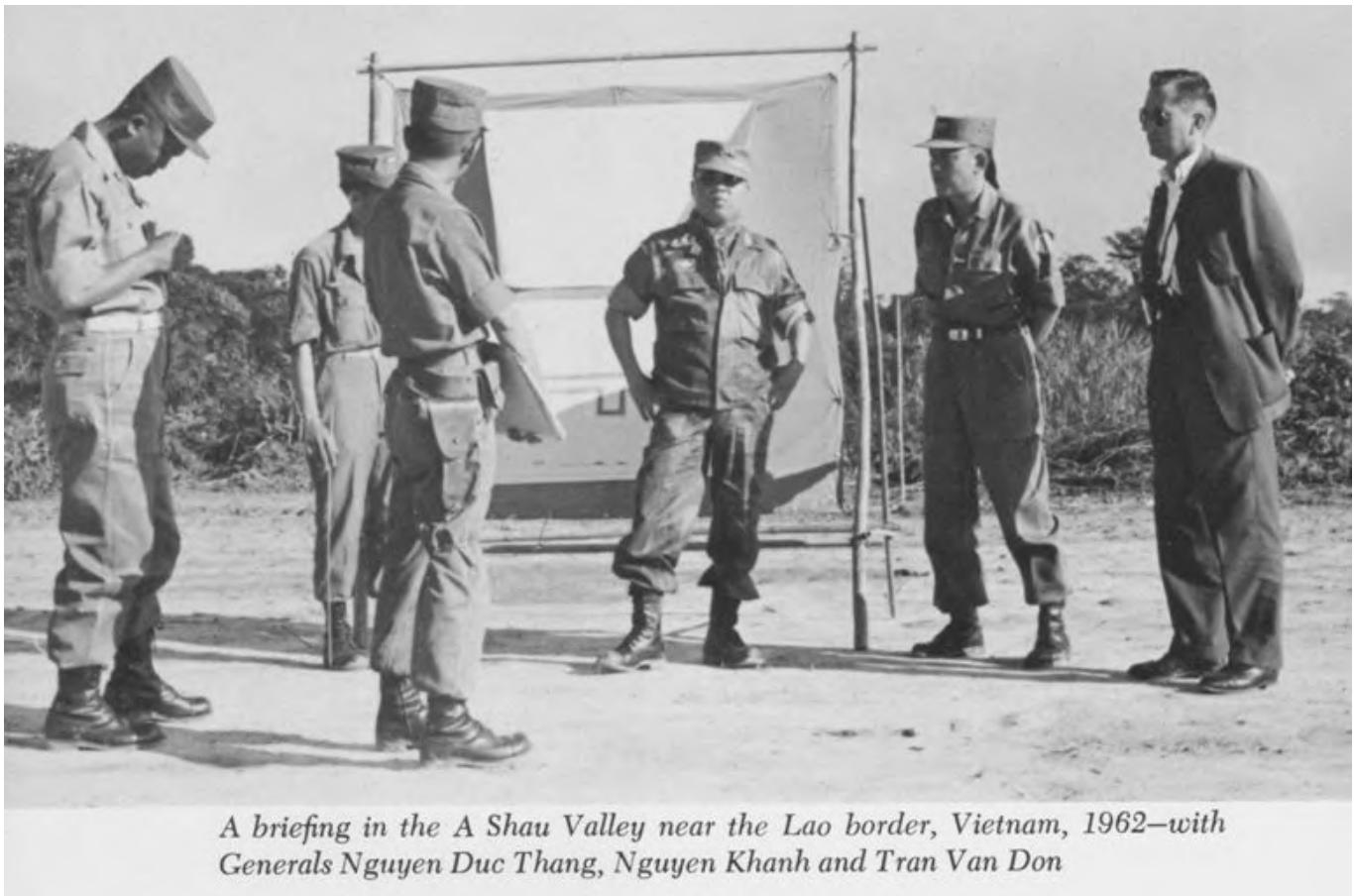
(Photo by Robert Knudsen/John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum)



Army Chief of Staff Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor toasts Cambodia's King Norodom Sihanouk in Phnom Penh in 1955.



U.S. Army General Maxwell D. Taylor has a dinner with Cambodia's Defense Minister Lon Nol.  
(Photo: *Swords and Plowshares* by Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor (1972))



*A briefing in the A Shau Valley near the Lao border, Vietnam, 1962—with Generals Nguyen Duc Thang, Nguyen Khanh and Tran Van Don*

CIA agent William Colby meets with a group of South Vietnamese army generals near the Lao border in South Vietnam in 1962. General Nguyen Khanh served as the President of the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) in 1964.  
(Source: *Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA* by William Colby and Peter Forbath)



CIA agent William Colby and his family visit South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem in Saigon in 1962.  
(Source: *Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA* by William Colby and Peter Forbath)



A U.S. Army captain engages in a mock hand-to-hand combat with a South Vietnamese army soldier. (Photo: [Time Life](#))



South Vietnamese soldiers receive guerilla warfare training from American military advisors in July 1961. (Photo: John Dominis/Time Life)



October 1962 - U.S. advisor trains Vietnamese troops in the use of a flame thrower.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))



Viet Cong dead; South Vietnam, 1962 (Courtesy of Jim Drummond)

(Source: *JFK and Vietnam: Deception, Intrigue, and The Struggle for Power* by John M. Newman (1992))



December, 1962, in Palm Beach, Florida. Left to right: General David Shoup, Marines, General Earl G. Wheeler, Army, Admiral George Anderson, Navy, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, President John F. Kennedy, General Maxwell Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatric, and General Curtis LeMay, Air Force (Photo. No. ST-C73-2-62  
*In the John F. Kennedy Library*)

(Source: *JFK and Vietnam: Deception, Intrigue, and The Struggle for Power* by John M. Newman (1992))



President John F. Kennedy discusses the political situation in Laos during a press conference at the White House in Washington, D.C. in March 1961. (Photo: Paul Schutzer/Time Life)



U.S. helicopter downed by ground fire. Two were destroyed by fire on this operation in III Corps, South Vietnam, 1962.

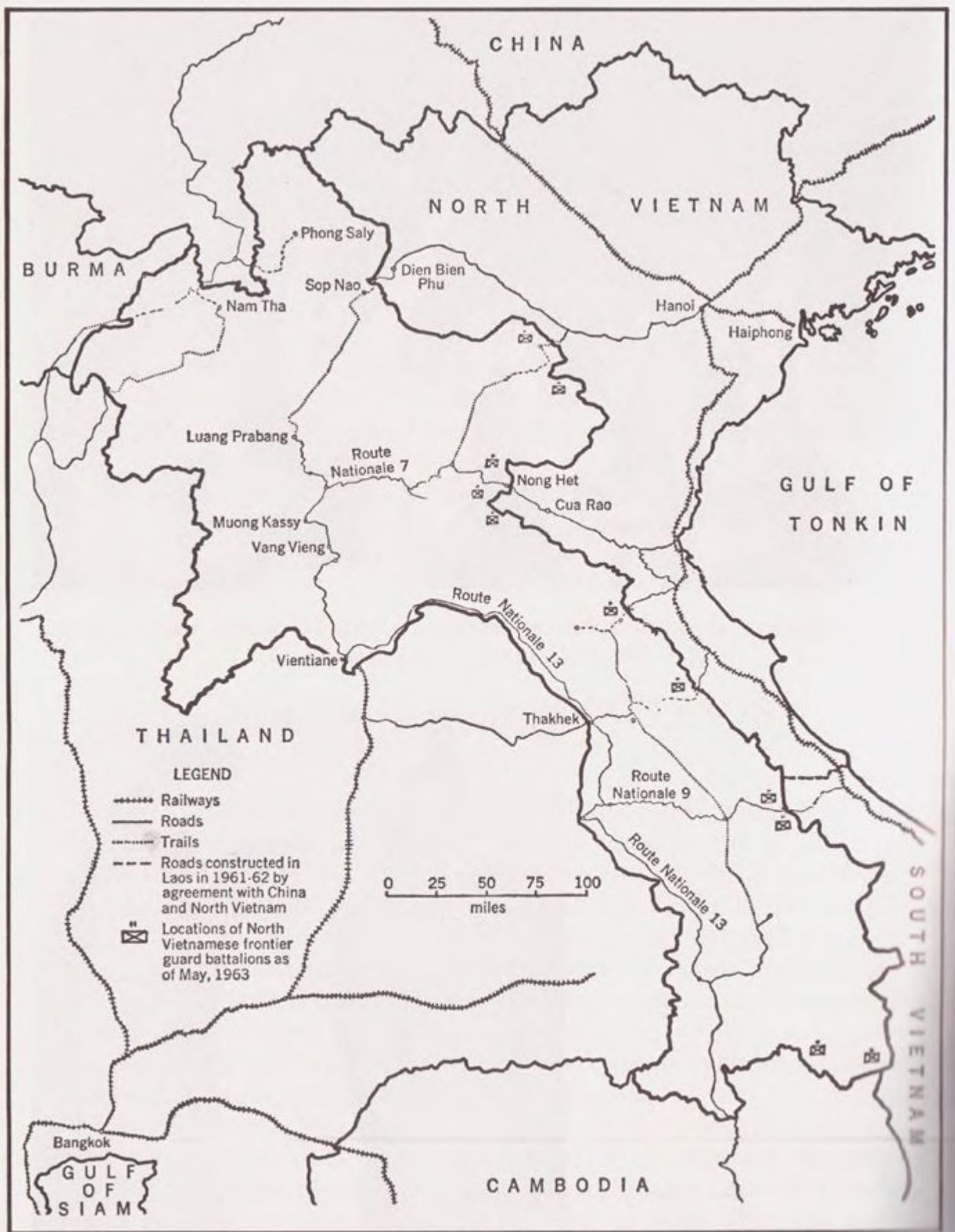
*(Courtesy of Jim Drummond)*

(Source: *JFK and Vietnam: Deception, Intrigue, and The Struggle for Power* by John M. Newman (1992))



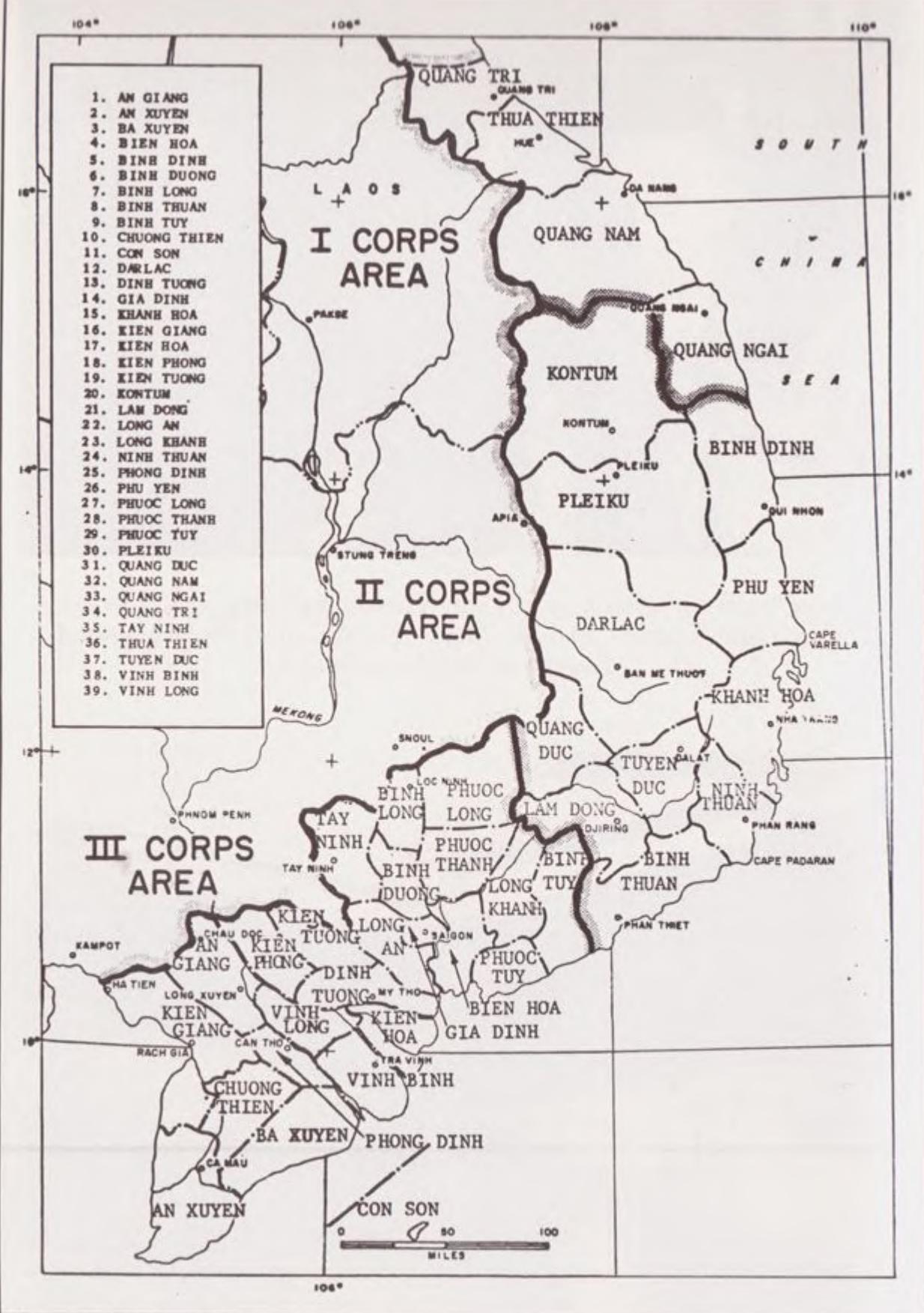
Laotian government soldiers providing supporting fire east of Huong Phalane, in Southern Laos, 1962 *(Courtesy of Jerry King)*

(Source: *JFK and Vietnam: Deception, Intrigue, and The Struggle for Power* by John M. Newman (1992))



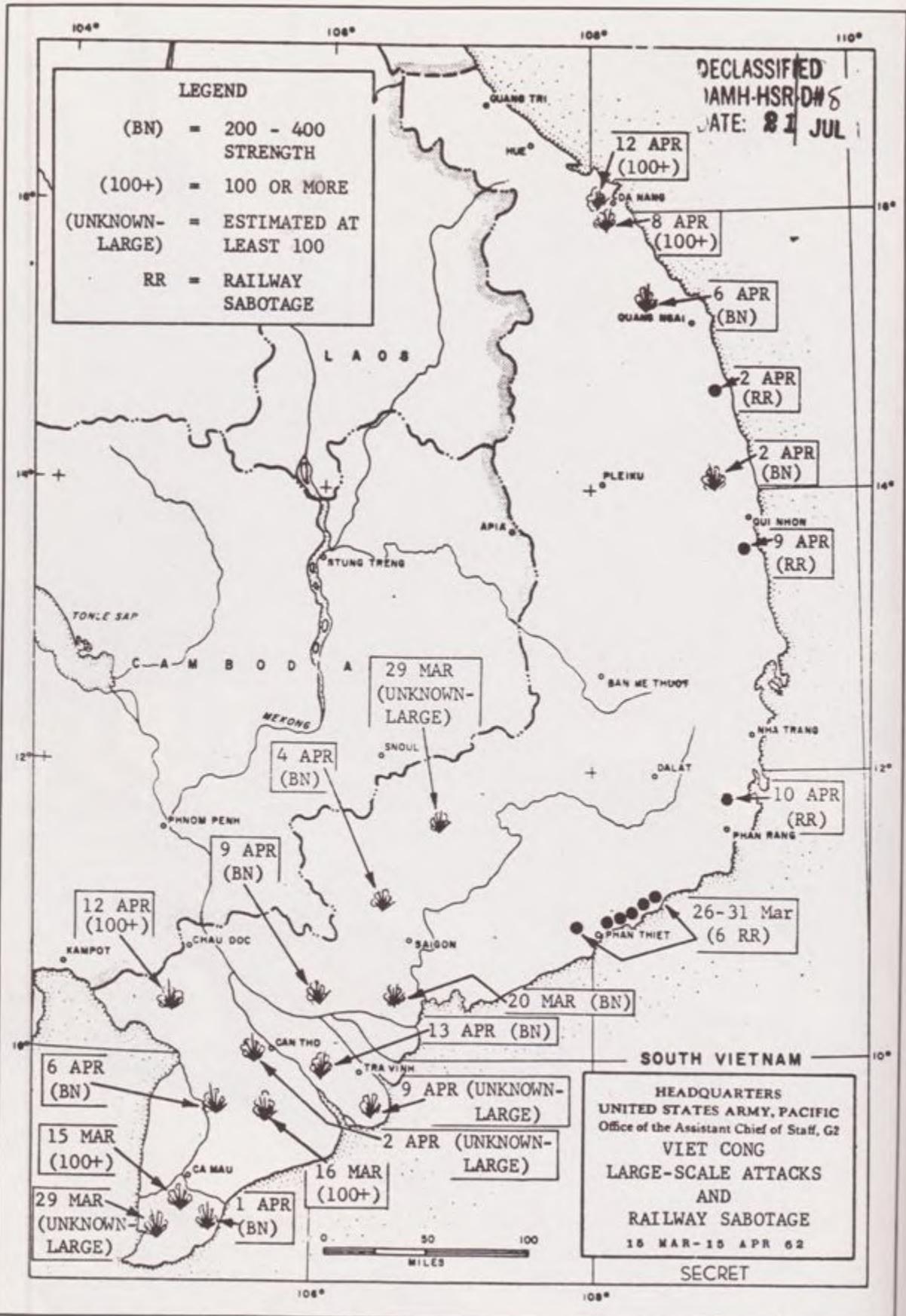
Map #1, Laos

(Source: *JFK and Vietnam: Deception, Intrigue, and The Struggle for Power* by John M. Newman (1992))



Map #2, South Vietnam, 1962 (USARPAC)

(Source: *JFK and Vietnam: Deception, Intrigue, and The Struggle for Power* by John M. Newman (1992))



Map #3, declassified map of South Vietnam, showing Viet Cong attacks in the spring of 1962 (USARPAC) (See page 251)

(Source: *JFK and Vietnam: Deception, Intrigue, and The Struggle for Power* by John M. Newman (1992))

### Part 3: Political Turmoil & Assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem



Soon after consolidating its power in Saigon, the Diem regime embarked on a ~~massive~~ campaign to liquidate the remaining Vietminh elements in South Vietnam. Many ~~were~~ imprisoned in re-education camps, as seen here. By 1958, almost all the residual ~~elements~~ agents had been wiped out.



Not long after establishing their government in North Vietnam, the Vietnamese Communists launched a brutal land reform program in which thousands of landlords ~~were~~ executed. Ho Chi Minh later apologized for the excesses of the episode. Here "Nguyen Van Dinh, landless peasant," as his sign identifies him, attends a land reform meeting with his family.

(Photo: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)

*A meeting of the Lao Dong in 1961, as the North Vietnamese Workers party called itself. By the 1960s, the North Vietnamese had decided to step up the insurgency against the Diem regime in Saigon.*



*A peasant woman mourns her husband, murdered by Vietcong terrorists in the Mekong delta. He was selected for assassination because he had informed on the Vietcong, whose terrorists tended to be selective in eliminating Saigon government officials and sympathizers.*



*(Photo: Vietnam: A History by Stanley Karnow)*



The four men who fired the first shots in the Vietnam War on January 17, 1960, left to right: Nguyen Van Thong, Le Van Kinh, Pham Van Giai and Nguyen Van Dung in Dinh Thuy hamlet, north of Mo Cay in the Mekong Delta. Their capture of a Diem military outpost is officially recognized as the start of the war.

(Photo: © Philip Jones Griffiths / Magnum / VIETNAM at PEACE / Trolley Books)

<http://www.digitaljournalist.org/issue0507/pjg12.html>



South Vietnamese paratroopers prepare to jump from an airplane during counterinsurgency training being conducted by the American military in South Vietnam in October 1962. (CORBIS)



June 1961 - South Vietnamese militiamen, automatic weapons in hand, stand guard in My Quai, a village about 75 miles southwest of Saigon in an area threatened by guerilla forces.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))



South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem appears with his assistant Ngo Dinh Nhu.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page19](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page19))



South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem inspect soldiers of the South Vietnamese armed forces in Saigon in 1962, shortly after the Presidential Palace was attacked.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page58](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page58))



The presidential palace in Saigon is hit by an isolated attack by two members of the South Vietnamese air force on February 26, 1962. President Ngo Dinh Diem was unhurt.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))



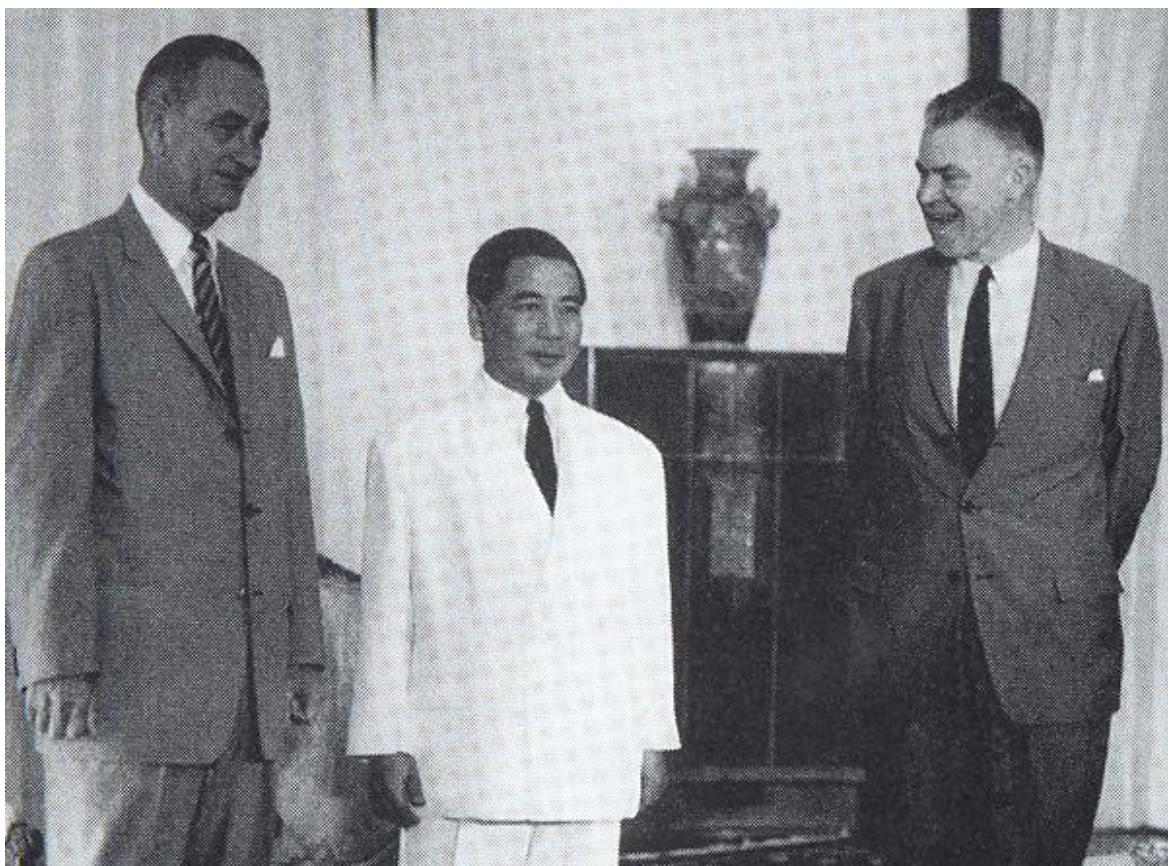
South Vietnamese female militiamen watch Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu fire a .38 pistol in South Vietnam in June 1962.  
(Photo: Larry Burrows /Time Life)



Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu inspects the presidential palace in Saigon in 1962. The presidential palace was attacked and bombed by two members of the South Vietnamese air force on February 26, 1962. Madame Nhu was the wife of Ngo Dinh Nhu, the brother of South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem. Her husband and her brother-in-law Ngo Dinh Diem were assassinated in Saigon on November 2, 1963. Madame Nhu is alive and currently lives in exile in France. (Photo: Time Life)

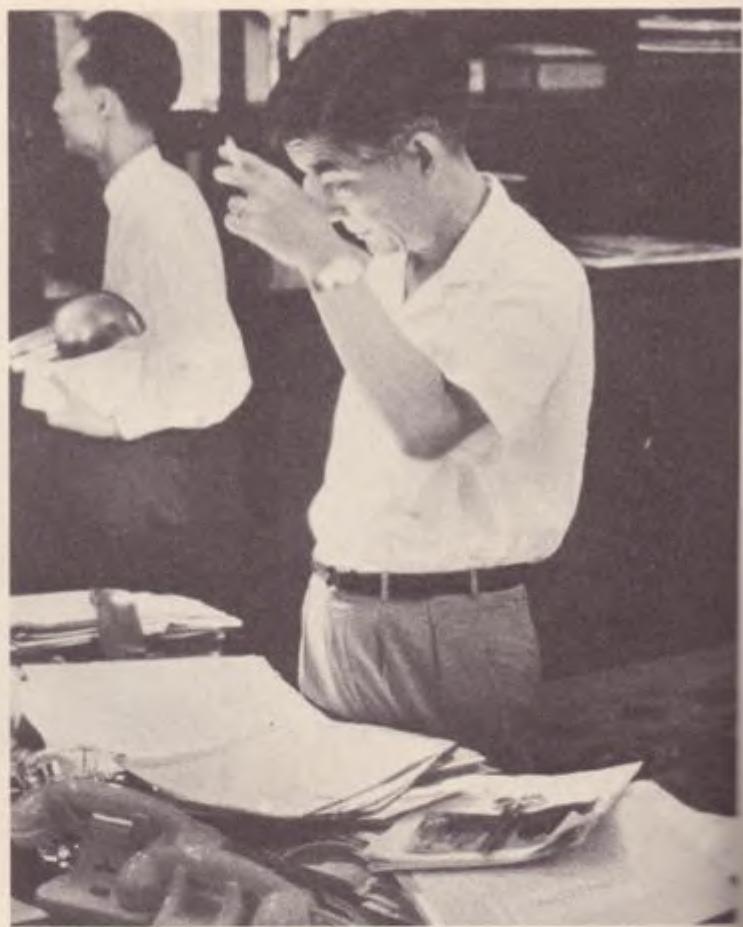


Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu issues orders to female soldiers at a firing range in South Vietnam in 1962. (Photo: Larry Burrows/ Time Life)



U.S. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson (left), South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem (center), and U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam Frederick Nolting stand together at the Presidential Palace in Saigon, South Vietnam on May 12, 1961.

*Ngo Dinh Diem's brother Nhu in his cluttered study in the presidential palace. He tried to organize a counterconspiracy, but his complicated maneuver failed when he was double-crossed by General Ton That Dinh, who he believed was on his side.*



*General Dinh, commander of the Saigon military region and thus a key figure in the Diem coup. A bombastic character, he was distrusted by nearly everyone.*



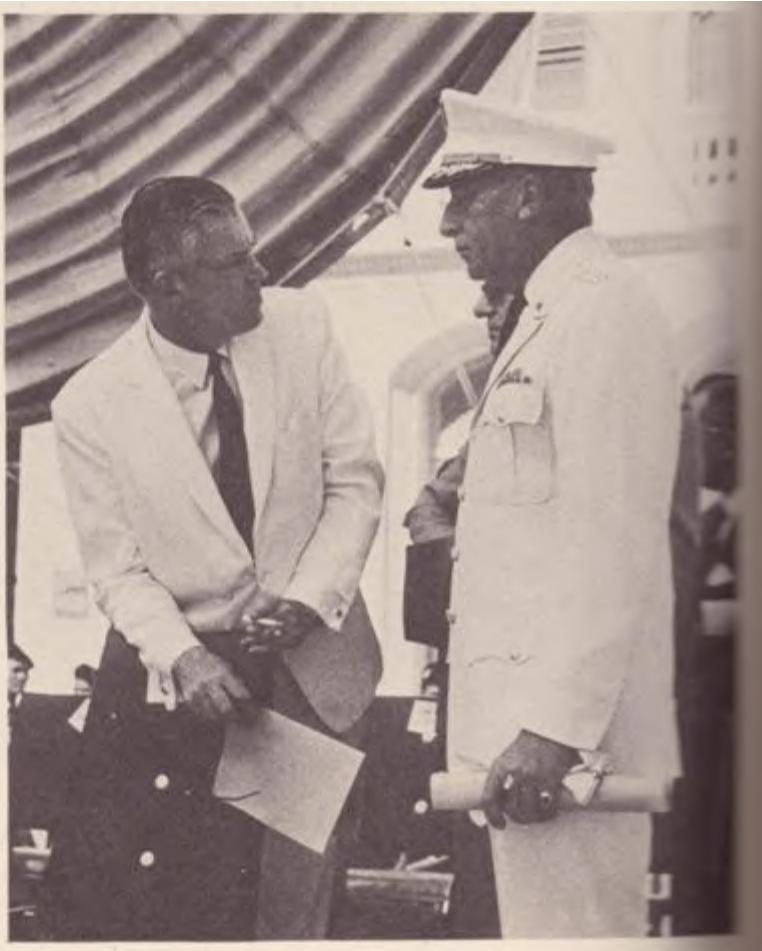
(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



U.S. Army Captain Gerald Kilburn (left) leads South Vietnamese army soldiers through rice paddies in hunt for Viet Cong terrorists in the Mekong Delta in South Vietnam on October 2, 1963. (Photo: Larry Burrows/Time Life)

*Captain Gerald Kilburn (left), an American adviser, leads South Vietnamese troops into action in the Mekong delta in 1963. American advisers then in Vietnam were supposed to avoid combat, but many participated in battle nevertheless.*

*Frederick Nolting (left), American ambassador to South Vietnam, chats with General Paul Harkins, commander of the U.S. military advisory mission. Nolting's previous diplomatic experience had been in Europe. Harkins had once played minor roles in the movies.*



(Photo: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



*To isolate peasants from the Vietcong guerrillas, the South Vietnamese government built fortified enclosures called "strategic hamlets." But this alienated many peasants, who resented being moved from their native villages.*



*Both the South Vietnamese army and the Vietcong guerrillas frequently tortured peasants, either to extract information or in retaliation for sympathizing with one side or the other.*

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



Members of the Viet Cong carry supplies through a trail, later known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail, in the late 1950s.



A South Vietnamese soldier escorts a man and a boy suspected of being a Vietcong, having just flushed them out of paddy where they were hiding, in the Mekong Delta in South Vietnam in 1962. (Larry Burrows/Time Life)

*A South Vietnamese peasant helps a Vietcong guerrilla make traps to be used against Saigon government troops. These devices, made of barbed nails capable of penetrating the sole of a boot, were concealed in flooded rice fields or on jungle trails.*

*Beginning in the late 1950s, North Vietnam sent supplies to Vietcong insurgents in the south. Porters carried the equipment along the Ho Chi Minh Trail, which threaded through the mountains and jungles of adjacent Laos.*



(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



LIFE

A South Vietnamese soldier wields a bayonet in front of a captured Vietcong suspect during interrogation in August 1962.  
(Photo: Larry Burrows/Time Life)



Buddhist monk Quang Duc burns himself to death in Saigon, South Vietnam on June 11, 1963.



A color photo of Buddhist monk Quang Duc burning himself to death in Saigon, South Vietnam on June 11, 1963



July 1, 1963 - South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem reviews honor troops in Saigon, marking his first appearance in public since the crisis between Diem, a Roman Catholic, and the Buddhists.

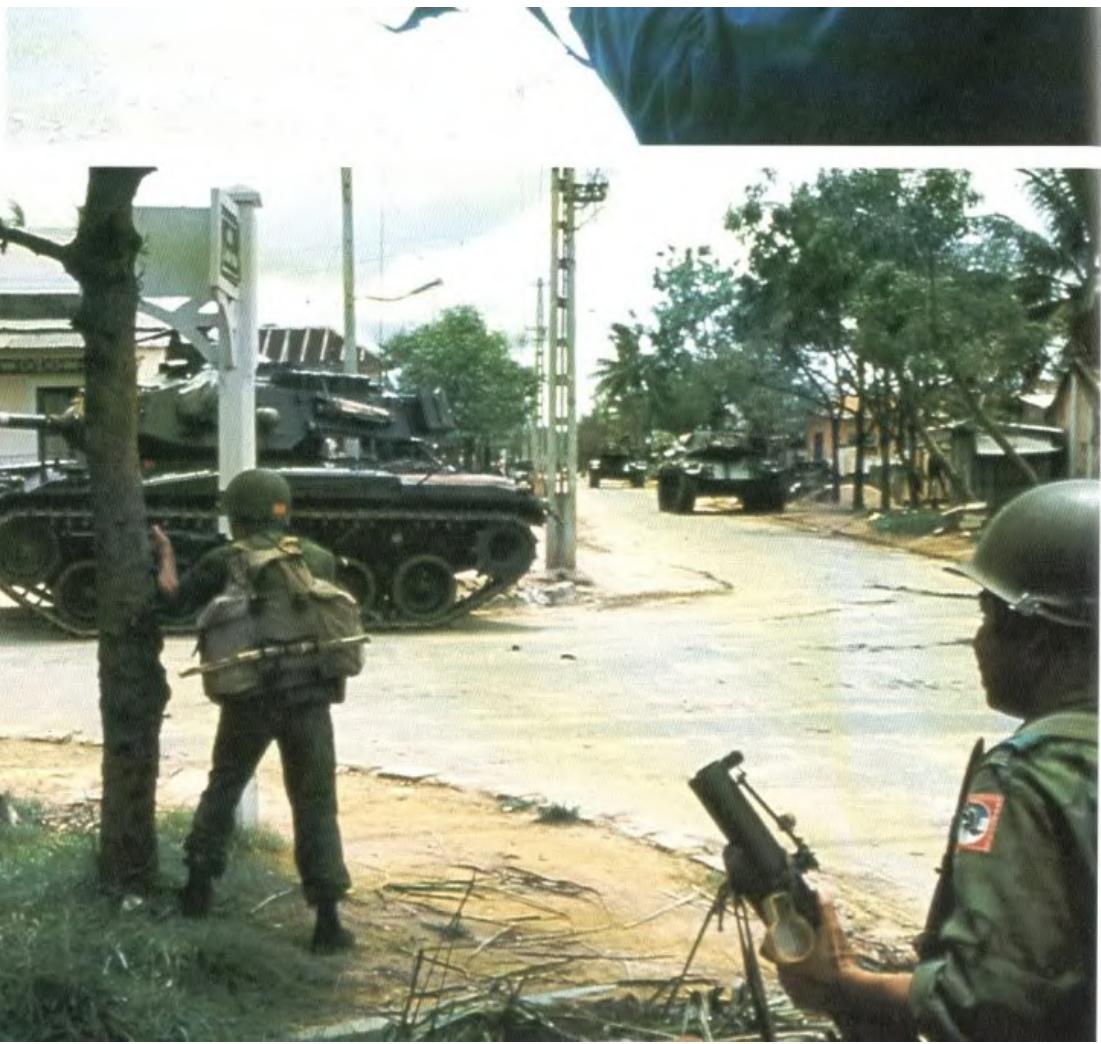
(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))



October 16, 1963 - Armed South Vietnamese marines march past Saigon's Xa Loi Pagoda, once headquarters of the Buddhist opposition, as they participate in National Day Thanksgiving Service.

(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page7](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page7))

*Below ARVN airborne troops, backed up by tanks, shoot their way through the streets of Danang during the Buddhist insurrection. The soldier in the foreground is carrying an M-79 grenade launcher.*



(Photo: [http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-\(updated-on-regular-basis\)/page59](http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?130407-Vietnamese-Military-Thread-(updated-on-regular-basis)/page59))



August 5, 1963 - A severely wounded South Vietnamese soldier is comforted in a sugarcane field near Duc Hoa, 12 miles west of Saigon after a Viet Cong ambush. The one-day operation involved about 3,000 troops in tanks, armored river craft, and on foot.

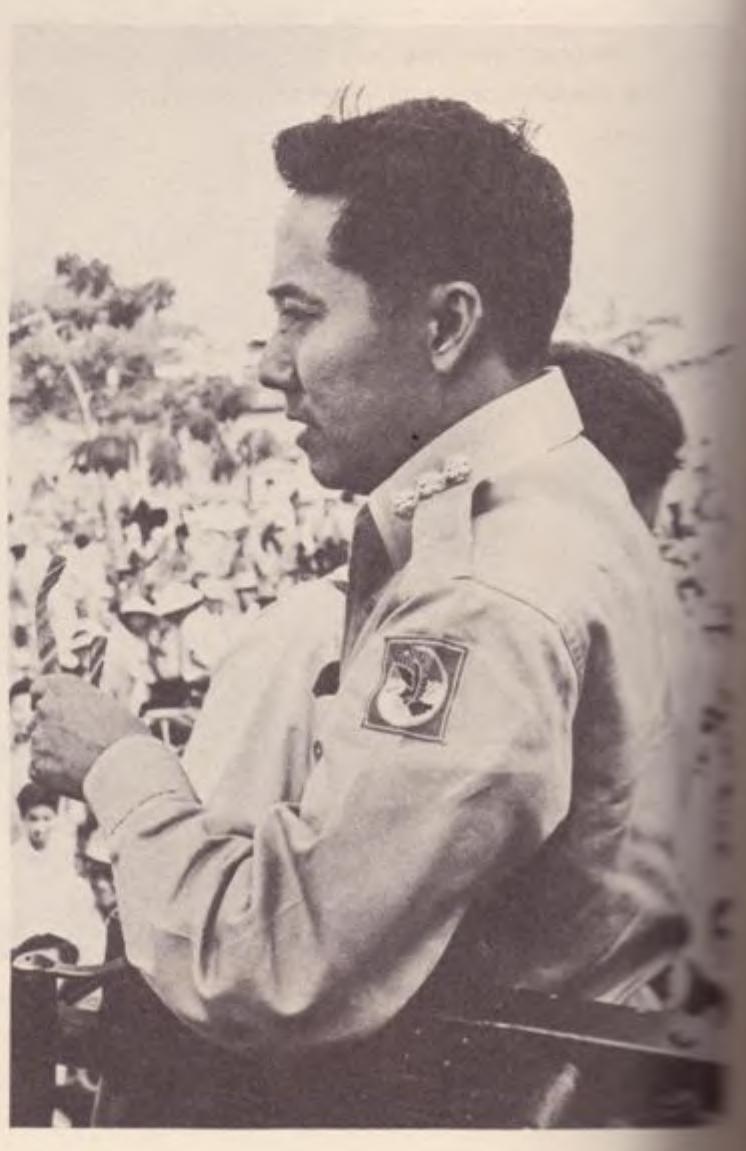
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South Vietnamese Buddhists demanded basic political rights in Saigon in 1963. The Xa Loi pagoda is in the background.  
(Photo: *American Tragedy: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Origins of the Vietnam War* by David Kaiser)



*Dr. Tran Kim Tuyen, a northern Catholic who relied heavily on CIA advice and funds, was not only head of Diem's secret police but also one of the earliest plotters against the regime. He was later arrested and jailed by some of his co-conspirators.*



*One of the early plotters against the Diem regime, Colonel Pham Ngoc Thao, was revealed after the war to have been a secret Communist agent. The son of an upper-class southern Catholic family, he had served with the Vietminh in the war against the French.*

(Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



AP/Wide World Photos

American officials played a key role in making Ngo Dinh Diem president of South Vietnam. In September 1963, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara (*left*) and United States Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge (*right*) assured Diem of continued American support. Lodge was named after his grandfather, who had strongly promoted the extension of United States power overseas.

Ngo Dinh Diem would be assassinated in Saigon on November 2, 1963.



Picture taken on the Anniversary of the Republic of Vietnam on October 26, 1963, five days before the coup d'etat that would result in the death of South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem. Left: General Duong Van Minh ("Big Minh"), General Le Van Kim, unknown Colonel (??), General Tran Van Don. (Photo: <http://ngothelintripod.com/NgoDinhDiem.html>)



Ngày 14 tháng 7 năm 1962, Đề-đi-Nam-Dương ra khơi. HQ/Đại-tá Hồ-Tấn-Quyền, Tư-lệnh Hải-quân, giúp Tổng-thống Ngô-Đinh-Diệm trong nghi-thức trao kiêm-danh-dự cho HQ/Thiếu-úy Lê-Bá-Thống, thủ-khoa khóa 10 Sĩ-Quan Nha-Trang nô-trưởng.



Buổi họp cảng-thắng ngày 26/08/1963 về  
bất-đồn chính-trị Phết-giáo giữa Tổng-thống  
Ngô-Đinh-Diệm và Đại-sứ Hoa-Kỳ Henry  
Cabot Lodge tại dinh Gia-Long

Left photo: South Vietnam's President Ngo Diem appears with South Vietnam's Navy officer Ho Tan Quyen (center) at Nha Trang, South Vietnam in 1962. Right photo: South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem receives diplomatic credentials from incoming American Ambassador to South Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. at Gia Long Palace in Saigon on August 25, 1963. (Both photos: <http://www.hqvnch.net/default.asp?id=58>)



South Vietnamese army paratroopers stand outside the Dien-Hong Palace in Saigon, South Vietnam on October 25, 1957, where the 9<sup>th</sup> Columb Plan Conference was held. (Photo: Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS)

Photo # NH 94339 Cdr. Ho Tan Quyen with RAdm. Alfred G. Ward on USS Toledo

VIET NAM/CDR HO TAN QUYEN/ACTING NAVAL DEPUTY/VN NAVY/  
27 OCT 59.



Commander Ho Tan Quyen (left), Active Naval Deputy, Republic of Vietnam Navy, With Rear Admiral Alfred G. Ward, USN, Commander Cruiser Division One, on board USS Toledo (CA-133), during the ship's visit to Saigon for Vietnamese Independence Day celebrations, 27 October 1959. Ho Tan Quyen, a Diem loyalist, was a commander of the Republic of Vietnam Navy when he was assassinated in Saigon on November 1, 1963, shortly before the assassination of South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem. (U.S. Naval Historical Center Photograph)



On November 2, 1963, after Diem had repeatedly refused to dismiss Nhu, Diem (above) and Nhu were assassinated following a successful military coup.

South Vietnam's President Ngo Dinh Diem (above) and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu were assassinated in Saigon, South Vietnam on **November 2, 1963**. Ngo Dinh Diem was a Roman Catholic. America's President John F. Kennedy would be assassinated in Dallas, Texas, United States of America on **November 22, 1963**.

(Photo: *American Tragedy: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Origins of the Vietnam War* by David Kaiser)

“They started on me with [Ngo Dinh] Diem, you remember. He was corrupt and he ought to be killed. So we killed him. **We all got together and got a goddamn bunch of thugs and we went in and assassinated him.** Now, we've really had no political stability since then.”

– U.S. President Lyndon Baines Johnson, in a tape-recorded conversation

(Source: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DeNv\\_62v6WQ&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DeNv_62v6WQ&feature=related))



The Presidential Palace in Saigon, South Vietnam is ransacked in November 1963 after a military coup that overthrew Diem government.  
(Photo: Larry Burrows/Time Life)



General Duong Van Minh, also known as "Big Minh", appears on the front cover of the November 8, 1963 edition of *Time* magazine.

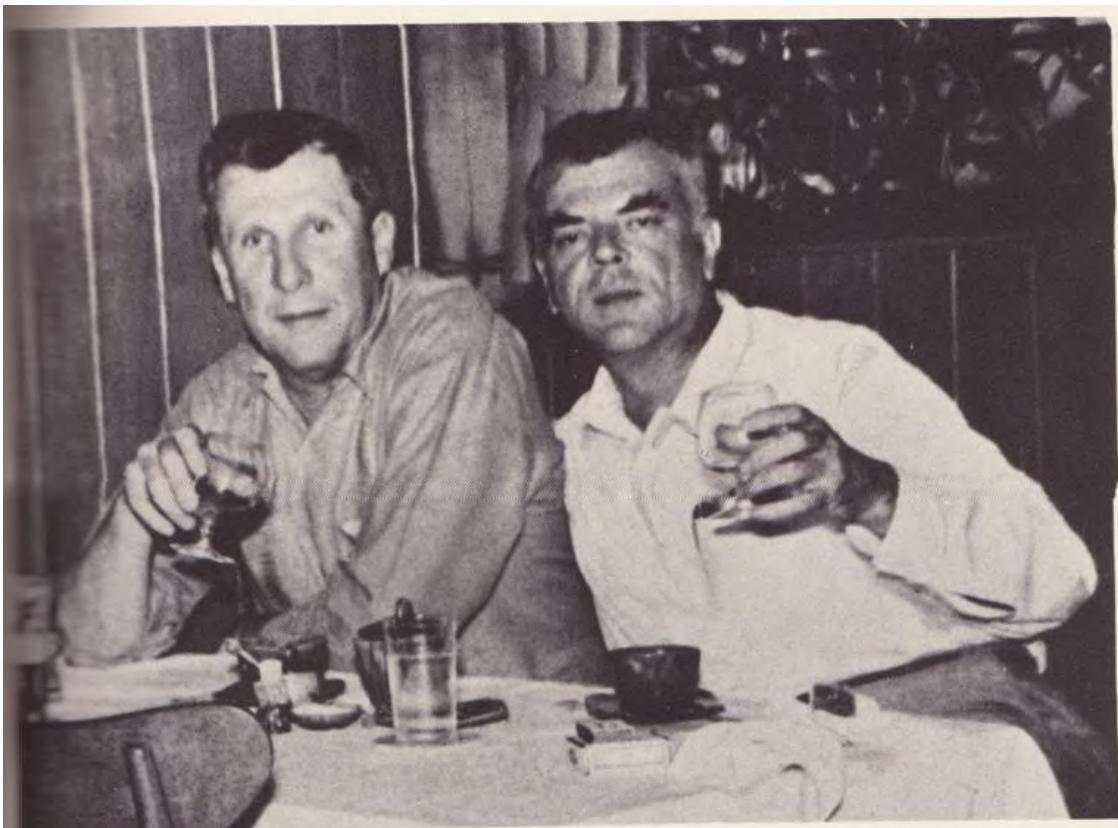


Lieutenant Colonel Lucien Conein (rear) was a CIA agent who served as liaison with the South Vietnamese generals who conspired to overthrow Diem. His special contact was General Tran Van Don (center). Both were born in France and had been friends for years. Others (left to right) are Generals Le Van Kim, Ton That Dinh, Nguyen Van Vy, and Mai Huu Xuan. (Source: *Vietnam: A History* by Stanley Karnow)



Generals Kim, Dinh, Don, Vy, and Xuan in house arrest in Dalat, 1964.

The South Vietnamese Army generals who betrayed President Ngo Dinh Diem for \$42,000 U.S. dollars ("30 pieces of silver") from CIA agent Lucien Conien. **Generals Kim, Dinh, Don, Vy, and Xuan** under house arrest in Dalat, South Vietnam in 1964.  
(Photo: <http://ngothelintripod.com/NgoDinhDiem.html>)



21. Lucien Conein and Joseph Baker, Lansdale teammates in Vietnam, relaxing.

(Source: *Edward Lansdale: The Unquiet American* by Cecil B. Currey)



20. Lansdale's Senior Liaison Mission headquarters at 194 Cong Ly Street, Saigon.

(Source: *Edward Lansdale: The Unquiet American* by Cecil B. Currey)

May 8, partly because that day was also the anniversary of the fall of Dien Bien Phu, a major Communist holiday. All these events gradually transformed the country into a major world hot spot.

"By 1963," as William Corson put it, "Diem and Vietnam were President Kennedy's main problem." The Kennedy brothers' decision to overthrow Diem had been building for a year when, on May 8, thousands of Buddhists demonstrated in protest against the government and were brutally repressed by the South Vietnamese Army, on Ngo Dinh Nhu's instructions. A grenade attack killed nine Buddhists.

When the Buddhists launched a storm of protest, Diem responded by making some concessions, including compensation to the families of the nine Buddhists who were killed. Then on June 11, a Buddhist monk, Thich Quang Doc, aided by hundreds of fellow monks, set himself on fire and died in front of American cameramen. Over the next few months, six other Buddhists set themselves afire. As the self-immolations continued, Madame Nhu earned the nickname "The Dragon Lady" for her remark that the monks were "barbecuing themselves."<sup>6</sup>

Although Diem promised President Kennedy he would leave the Buddhists alone, Diem's CIA-trained Special Forces increased their harassment and attacks. Diem refused to separate himself from his hard-line brother and sister-in-law. CIA head John McCone argued forcefully that Diem was the only leader who could hold South Vietnam together, but Robert Kennedy decided that he could not support so repressive a regime, despite strong protests from some military advisers, the CIA, and the Catholic church.

The CIA and the Pentagon began searching for someone more cooperative to replace Diem. In the summer of 1963 President Kennedy authorized his new ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., to order Saigon Station Chief John ("Jocko") Richardson to prepare for a coup.

The coup was designed to be bloodless. Neither Diem nor his brother were to be harmed. President Kennedy gave the order to evacuate the two men and their families out of Vietnam to safety. While political murder was not Kennedy's policy in this case, it was the policy of others in the U.S. government. The events surrounding the coup in Saigon were not coincidental to other events playing out in the United States in 1963.

Luigi Conein thought he was running the coup. The plan was for him, the minute the coup began, to convince Diem, Nhu, and their families to

go to Taiwan for a brief exile. Conein was to call Diem to tell him what was happening and then meet the brothers and their families at a safe house in the Cholon suburb. From there, he was to see them safely to the airport and their flight to Taiwan. A hitch developed when the coup was temporarily thwarted by Diem and Nhu's intelligence agents, who, having penetrated Saigon Station, learned about it. They began a public newspaper attack on the CIA.<sup>7</sup> Eventually, however, Conein was able to obtain Diem's cooperation in his own removal from power.

On November 1, 1963, Diem and Nhu received the call and went to the appointed meeting place, a Catholic church in Cholon. Then a series of events took place that had nothing to do with President Kennedy's orders or Lucien Conein's plans. As Diem and Nhu got into an Army personnel carrier for the ride to the airport, they were shot to death. Conein said that when he heard about it, he "was shocked at the killing of Diem and his brother; it had never been part of the CIA plan."<sup>8</sup> Corson later said he never believed either Conein or Kennedy was responsible; when Kennedy learned of the murders, Corson said, he was as "angry as I ever saw him, absolutely shaken."

Who changed a nonviolent coup into the murder of Diem, Nhu, and a Catholic priest accompanying them? To this day, nothing has been found in government archives tying the killings to either John or Robert Kennedy. So how did the tools and talents developed by Bill Harvey for ZR/RIFLE and OPERATION MONGOOSE get exported to Vietnam? Kennedy immediately ordered Corson to find out what had happened and who was responsible. The answer he came up with: "On instructions from Averell Harriman. . . . The orders that ended in the deaths of Diem and his brother originated with Harriman and were carried out by Henry Cabot Lodge's own military assistant."

Having served as ambassador to Moscow and governor of New York, W. Averell Harriman was in the middle of a long public career. In 1960, President-elect Kennedy appointed him ambassador-at-large, to operate "with the full confidence of the president and an intimate knowledge of all aspects of United States policy." By 1963, according to Corson, Harriman was running "Vietnam without consulting the president or the attorney general."

The president had begun to suspect that not everyone on his national security team was loyal. As Corson put it, "Kenny O'Donnell [JFK's ap-

pointments secretary] was convinced that McGeorge Bundy, the national security advisor, was taking orders from Ambassador Averell Harriman and not the president. He was especially worried about Michael Forrestal, a young man on the White House staff who handled liaison on Vietnam with Harriman."

At the heart of the murders was the sudden and strange recall of Saigon Station Chief Jocko Richardson and his replacement by a no-name team barely known to history. The key member was a Special Operations Army officer, John Michael Dunn, who took his orders, not from the normal CIA hierarchy but from Harriman and Forrestal.

According to Corson, "John Michael Dunn was known to be in touch with the coup plotters,"<sup>9</sup> although Dunn's role has never been made public. Corson believes that Richardson was removed so that Dunn, assigned to Ambassador Lodge<sup>10</sup> for "special operations," could act without hindrance.

Neither Corson nor Kennedy knew in 1963 that James Angleton was also worried about Averell Harriman and had begun a highly secret counterintelligence investigation code named DINOSAUR. This investigation continued throughout the rest of Angleton's CIA tenure. "There was a strong circumstantial case that Harriman was at least an agent of Soviet influence and maybe much worse," Angleton said.

Angleton became convinced that Harriman's role in the coup was motivated by more than a policy difference with Kennedy. Angleton believed that the Vietnamese assassinations were designed to throw American policy in that country into chaos. That was certainly their effect. "The U.S. never really recovered from that coup," said Corson, who later returned to Vietnam as a Marine commander.

Harriman's actions made no one happier than Yekaterina Furtseva's friend, Yuri Andropov, who was running Vietnam operations for the KGB. Andropov understood that the murders of the Vietnamese leaders destroyed U.S. policy. Averell Harriman set in motion in Saigon, without the president's knowledge, a series of events that doomed all future U.S. efforts in Vietnam.

# President Eisenhower's Letter to Ngo Dinh Diem, October 23, 1954

*Letter from President Eisenhower to Ngo Dinh Diem, President of the Council of Ministers of Vietnam, October 23, 1954*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I have been following with great interest the course of developments in Viet-Nam, particularly since the conclusion of the conference at Geneva. The implications of the agreement concerning Viet-Nam have caused grave concern regarding the future of a country temporarily divided by an artificial military grouping, weakened by a long and exhausting war and faced with enemies without and by their subversive collaborators within.

Your recent requests for aid to assist in the formidable project of the movement of several hundred thousand loyal Vietnamese citizens away from areas which are passing under a *de facto* rule and political ideology which they abhor, are being fulfilled. I am glad that the United States is able to assist in this humanitarian effort.

We have been exploring ways and means to permit our aid to Viet-Nam to be more effective and to make a greater contribution to the welfare and stability of the Government of Viet-Nam. I am, accordingly, instructing the American Ambassador to Viet-Nam to examine with you in your capacity as Chief of Government, how an intelligent program of American aid given directly to your Government can serve to assist Viet-Nam in its present hour of trial, provided that your Government is prepared to give assurances as to the standards of performance it would be able to maintain in the event such aid were supplied.

The purpose of this offer is to assist the Government of Viet-Nam in developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means. The Government of the United States expects that this aid will be met by performance on the part of the Government of Viet-Nam in undertaking needed reforms. It hopes that such aid, combined with your own continuing efforts, will contribute effectively toward an independent Viet-Nam endowed with a strong government. Such a government would, I hope, be so responsive to the nationalist aspirations of its people, so enlightened in purpose and effective in performance, that it will be respected both at home and abroad and discourage any who might wish to impose a foreign ideology on your free people.

Sincerely,

Dwight D. Eisenhower

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**Source:** Reprinted from *The Department of State Bulletin* (November 15, 1954), pp. 735-736.

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Source: <http://ngothelin.tripod.com/Eisenhower-Diem.html>

# A Letter From South Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem to American President John F. Kennedy

December 7, 1961

Dear Mr. President:

Since its birth, more than six years ago, the Republic of Vietnam has enjoyed the close friendship and co-operation of the United States of America.

Like the United States, The Republic of Vietnam has always been devoted to the preservation of peace. My people know only too well the sorrows of war. We have honored the 1954 Geneva Agreements even though they resulted in the partition of our country and the enslavement of more than half of our people by Communist tyranny. We have never considered the reunification of our nation by force. On the contrary, we have publicly pledged that we will not violate the demarcation line and the demilitarized zone set up by the Agreements. We have always been prepared and have on many occasions stated our willingness to reunify Vietnam on the basis of democratic and truly free elections.

The record of the Communist authorities in the northern part of the country is quite otherwise. They not only consented to the division of Vietnam, but were eager for it. They pledged themselves to observe the Geneva Agreements and during the seven years since have never ceased to violate them. They call for free elections but are ignorant of the very meaning of the words. They talk of "peaceful reunification" and wage war against us.

From the beginning, the Communists resorted to terror in their efforts to subvert our people, destroy our government, and impose a Communist regime upon us. They have attacked defenseless teachers, closed schools, killed members of our anti-malarial program, and looted hospitals. This is coldly calculated to destroy our government's humanitarian efforts to serve our people.

We have long sought to check the Communist attack from the North on our people by appeals to the International Control Commission. Over the years, we have repeatedly published to the world the evidence of the Communist plot to overthrow our government and seize control of all of Vietnam by illegal intrusions from outside our country. The evidence has mounted until now it is hardly necessary to rehearse it. Most recently, the kidnapping and brutal murder of our Chief Liaison Officer to the International Control Commission, Colonel Noang Thuy Nam, compelled us to speak out once more. In our October 24, 1961 letter to the ICC, we called attention again to the publicly stated determination of the Communist authorities in Hanoi to "liberate the south" by the overthrow of my government and the imposition of a Communist regime on our people. We cited the proof of massive infiltration of Communist agents and military elements into our country. We outlined the Communist strategy, which is simply the ruthless use of terror against the whole population, women and children included.

In the course of the last few months, the communist assault on my people has achieved high ferocity. In October they caused more than 1,800 incidents of violence and more than 2,000 casualties. They have struck occasionally in battalion strength, and they are continually augmenting their forces by infiltration from the North. The level of their attacks is already such that our forces are stretched to the utmost. We are forced to defend every village, every hamlet, indeed every home against a foe whose tactic is always to strike at the defenseless.

A disastrous flood was recently added to the misfortunes of the Vietnamese people. The greater part of the three provinces was inundated, with a great loss of property. We are now engaged in a nationwide effort to reconstruct and rehabilitate this area. The Communists are, of course, making this task doubly difficult, for they have seized upon the disruption of normal administration and communications as an opportunity to sow more destruction in the stricken area.

In short, the Vietnamese nation now faces what is perhaps the gravest crisis in its long history. For more than 2,000 years my people have lived and built, fought and died in this land. We have not always been free. Indeed, much of our history and many of its proudest moments have arisen from conquest by foreign powers and our struggle against great odds to regain or defend our precious independence. But it is not only our freedom that is at stake today, it is our national identity. For if we lose the war, our people will be swallowed by the Communist bloc, all our proud heritage will be blotted out by the "Socialist society" and Vietnam will leave the pages of history. We will lose our national soul.

Mr. President, my people and I are mindful of the great assistance the United States has given us. Your help has not been lightly received, for the Vietnamese are proud people, and we are prepared to do our part in the defense of the free world. It is clear to all of us that the defeat of the Viet Cong demands the total mobilization of our government and our people, and you may be sure that we will devote all of our resources of money, minds, and men to this task.

But Vietnam is not a great power and the forces of international Communism now arrayed against us are more than we can meet with the resources at hand. We must have further assistance from the United States if we are to win the war now being waged against us.

We can certainly assure mankind that our action is purely defensive. Much as we regret the subjugation of more than half our people in North Vietnam, we have no intention, and indeed no means, to free them by use of force.

I have said that Vietnam is at war. War means many things, but most of all it means the death of brave people for a cause they believe in. Vietnam has suffered many wars, and through the centuries we have always had patriots and heroes who were willing to shed their blood for Vietnam. We will keep faith with them.

When Communism has long ebbed away into the past, my people will still be here, a free united nation growing from the deep roots of our Vietnamese heritage. They will remember your help in our time of need. This struggle will then be a part of our common history. And your help, your friendship, and the strong bonds between our two peoples will be a part of Vietnam, then as now.

## Madame Nhu, Dragon Lady of South Vietnam

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Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu was the most famous and influential woman in the brief history of South Vietnam. As the sister-in-law of Vietnam's bachelor President Ngo Dinh Diem, she considered herself the nation's First Lady. No stranger to controversy, and thriving on publicity, Madame Nhu had the complete support of President Diem along with the complete loathing of President John Kennedy and the government of the United States, both at the same time. This is the story of the rise and fall of Madame Nhu, known as the Dragon Lady of South Vietnam.

Madame Nhu was born in 1924 into one of the wealthiest and most aristocratic families in Vietnam. Her maiden name was Tran Le Xuan ("Beautiful Spring"). Her father was a lawyer, and the Tran family made its fortune serving the French colonial government. At her home in Hanoi she was attended by 20 servants. She was a mediocre student who never finished high school. She became fluent in French but never learned to write Vietnamese. Beautiful Spring felt unloved by her mother, against whom she rebelled. She had an unhappy childhood and was anxious to marry in order to escape her domestic circumstances.

At the same time Beautiful Spring was eager to marry, Ngo Dinh Nhu was employed as an archivist at the Indo-China Library in Hanoi. Nhu also came from an aristocratic family. The Ngo clan had converted to Catholicism in the seventeenth century. Nhu's father served as counselor to the emperor of Vietnam. Nhu spent his twenties studying literature and librarianship in Paris. In Hanoi, in the early 1940s, he was an admirer of Beautiful Spring's mother, who operated a local literary salon. While Nhu provided books and tutored her in Latin, Beautiful Spring developed a plan to get out of her oppressive home situation. Although fourteen years younger and not in love, she married Nhu and converted to Catholicism in 1943. Three years later war began between the Viet Minh and the French.[1]

Nhu and his brothers were strongly anti-Communist. One brother, Diem, was arrested and briefly held prisoner by the Viet Minh; another was killed. Nhu managed to avoid capture. Not so lucky, Madame Nhu and her infant daughter were taken by the Communists in December 1946 and held in a remote village for four months. She was reunited with Nhu when French forces liberated the area. The Nhus settled in the resort town of Da Lat in the Central Highlands. They ran a newspaper and worked to organize support for Diem, who was living in the United States.

Nhu moved to Saigon in 1953 where he organized demonstrations against the French and the Communists. Nhu also worked to undermine popular support for Emperor Bao Dai in order to increase the appeal of the nationalist movement headed by Diem, now living in France and in contact with the large Parisian Vietnamese exile community. In March 1954, word reached Saigon that the French army at Dien Bien Phu was threatened by a powerful Viet Minh force. Bao Dai, considered a puppet of the French by many Vietnamese, realized there was a possibility the French might soon depart Vietnam. Recognizing Diem's popularity, in June 1954 he appointed him prime minister of Vietnam. The following year Nhu came up with a plan to allow Diem to win the power struggle with Bao Dai: hold a referendum asking the people to choose between them. Nhu controlled the secret police, who determined the outcome of the election. Diem won the October 25 election with a whopping 98.2 per cent of the vote. He ousted the emperor, proclaimed a republic, named himself President, and assumed dictatorial powers. Because he was strongly anti-Communist, Diem secured the support of the Eisenhower administration, which gave him hundreds of millions of dollars in aid. Diem, with Nhu's help, spent the next few years defeating his political opponents and consolidating his powers.

Nhu and Madame Nhu lived in the Presidential Palace and controlled access to Diem. Their power was immense. According to journalist David Halberstam, had Diem been the President of the U.S., Nhu would have controlled all the nation's newspapers; headed the CIA, FBI, and Congress; served as Attorney General and Secretary of State; and written all the reports seen by the President.[2] Both were elected to the National Assembly in 1956; both rarely bothered to attend its sessions.[3]

Madame Nhu served as her bachelor brother-in-law's official First Lady. She insisted the Vietnamese press refer to her as Madame Ngo, although the proper usage was Madame Nhu.[4] In 1956 she began a campaign to make major changes in Vietnamese domestic relations. In 1958 her Family Code bill became law. It made illegal polygamy, divorce, and marital infidelity (including being seen in public with a member of another sex). Women were given equal rights with men in a variety of areas. Numerous male members of the Assembly disagreed with this legislation and its passage was contentious – during the deliberations, according to some reports, Madame Nhu called the Assembly majority leader "a pig." [5]

Although continued government repression cemented Diem's hold on power, in the long term it served to alienate the Vietnamese from the government. This alienation was exploited by the Communist Viet Cong (VC). By the late 1950s increased VC influence brought the country to the point of political crisis.

President Diem's propensity for one-man rule was tempered only by reliance on his family to govern Vietnam. His four brothers all had important roles in South Vietnamese affairs. Despite their strong influence, neither Nhu nor Madame Nhu held high positions

within the Diem government. Nhu's official title was Advisor to the President. Madame Nhu was head of the Women's Solidarity Movement and in charge of women's affairs generally. Over time the power and influence of the Nhus increased, to the point where some observers claimed Nhu was more powerful even than Diem, due to Nhu's strong influence over his brother's thinking. Other observers felt it was Madame Nhu who had become the dominant member of the family. She increasingly concerned herself with matters outside the domain of women's affairs, and sought a position for herself of equality with the President.[6]

John Mecklin served in Vietnam with the U.S. Information Agency. He knew Diem, Nhu, and Madame Nhu personally. He found it conceivable the entire family was clinically mad; indeed, some of their actions were so bizarre as to suggest a death wish. According to Mecklin, "the Nhus were the poison that ultimately destroyed the regime." Madame Nhu was a "hair-triggered spitfire" willing to force a resolution to political issues but almost always in the most damaging directions. She was greatly stirred by the crisis affecting her country, but her reactions served to worsen it. She was striking in appearance but not beautiful, very energetic, and had extravagant tastes. She was extroverted, had a good sense of humor, and was a captivating conversationalist, capable of talking "like a machine gun in either French or English." [7]

As the influence of the Nhus increased, so too did resentment against the government. Seeing no alternative to Diem, the White House urged reform in order to broaden his base of support. In 1959 Ambassador Elbridge Durbrow tried to persuade Diem to get rid of Nhu and bring new people into the government.[8] In November 1960 there was a coup attempt by South Vietnamese paratroopers with the same goal. One of their first demands was that Madame Nhu be removed from the Presidential palace. According to an article in *Time* magazine, she was flattered by the attention.[9] In the first moments of the coup the paratroopers accomplished their goals – Diem and most everyone inside the palace favored accepting the demands to form a new government. Alone, Madame Nhu rejected any notion of compromise, insisting instead on fighting to the end. Diem finally brought in loyal troops and forced an end to the rebellion. To the dismay of her enemies, her influence increased dramatically. As she described it, "Up until then, they had not taken me seriously. But then they began to notice me, and began to worry when I said things."

During the coup Ambassador Durbrow offered Madame Nhu safe conduct to the U.S. embassy. Although the Americans did not sponsor the coup, Durbrow's offer convinced Madame of U.S. complicity. As Diem and the Nhus became more suspicious, the regime adopted a siege mentality and became increasingly less popular. According to *New York Times* reporter Halberstam, "Everything that went wrong in Vietnam was blamed on the Nhus," while Madame Nhu "became the target of even more intense hatred." [10] According to historian Joseph Buttinger, "Nhu and his wife became the two most hated people in South Vietnam." [11]

Her 1958 Family Code law notwithstanding, Madame Nhu decided Vietnamese morals needed further regulation. Her 1962 Law for the Protection of Morality sought to make illegal a wide range of activities, including birth control, beauty contests, gambling, dancing, boxing, cockfights, and fighting by male Siamese fighting fish. Minors could not attend unsuitable movies and plays; sorcerers and mediums were outlawed; prostitution was prohibited.[12] This legislation increased dislike of Madame Nhu in proportion to the popularity of the activities banned. According to Associated Press reporter Malcolm Browne, who was stationed in Saigon, Madame Nhu also declared war on her own family. In 1962 she caused her sister to attempt suicide; in 1963 she disowned her parents.[13]

Although she may have been flattered to be a focus of the 1960 coup attempt, Madame Nhu was likely furious when she and her husband became the targets of the next one. On February 27 1962, two Vietnamese Air Force pilots, trained in the U.S., took off in their American-built AD-6 attack aircraft from the Bien Hoa Airbase, a few miles from Saigon. Lt. Nguyen Van Cu successfully bombed the wing of the presidential palace inhabited by Nhu and Madame Nhu. An accomplice, Lt. Nguyen Phu Quoc, was shot down when antiaircraft fire struck his plane. Quoc was taken prisoner. Diem was walking down a hallway when the bombs struck, and was nearly bowled over by the blast. Nhu was unhurt, and Madame Nhu was slightly injured when she fell down a flight of stairs.

Cu, who bombed with napalm and high explosives, later said the attack was inspired by hatred of the Diem regime, hatred directed less at Diem personally than toward his family. Cu flew his plane to Cambodia, where he was granted political asylum. Quoc was imprisoned until the next coup, and then released. Both eventually returned to their duties as air force pilots.[14]

South Vietnam was a U.S. client state. Diem realized he needed American aid to maintain his position. He and the Nhus wanted that aid to come with no strings attached. They disliked the increasing American presence in their country. Madame Nhu referred to this as "creeping Americanism" and was willing to take drastic steps to minimize it. For example, for a time she ordered the police to pick up all Vietnamese women found walking with Americans.[15] The Americans were funding the Vietnamese government and training its police and military forces. American soldiers were dying in combat in support of the regime. They felt this gave them the right to advise the Diem regime and expected that advice be taken. According to reporter Halberstam, Madame Nhu's political philosophy was simple: The Ngo family was always right; the family should never compromise; and it should ignore criticism.[16]

The U.S. supported South Vietnam in order to prevent its fall to communism. Thanks to this aid the size of its armed forces was growing. Yet at the same time so too was the size and effectiveness of the Viet Cong.[17] Twice elements of the South Vietnamese armed forces had attacked Diem in the presidential palace. He was fearful of their loyalty, deploying them more to minimize their ability to stage coups than to effectively fight the Viet Cong. The relationship with senior army commanders was further strained by Madame Nhu, who ordered them around the presidential palace like "house servants" and treated them generally like lackeys under her personal control.[18]

Diem and the Nhus were Catholic. Most Vietnamese were Buddhists. No political opposition parties were allowed in South Vietnam. As opposition to the government increased, more Vietnamese became attracted to Buddhism. Ngo Dinh Thuc, brother of President Diem, was the Catholic Archbishop of Hue, the center of Buddhism in Vietnam. In early 1963 there was a celebration in Hue to commemorate Thuc's twenty-five years as bishop. Both Vietnamese and Roman Catholic flags were flown, which violated a law which permitted only the Vietnamese flag be flown in public. This event was followed by Buddha's 2,587<sup>th</sup> birthday, and the Buddhists in Hue wanted to fly their flag. When the Diem government prohibited this, thousands of Buddhists demonstrated in protest. Nine were killed when government troops fired into the demonstrators. U.S. Ambassador William Trueheart urged Diem to make peace with the Buddhists by admitting fault, paying indemnity, and issuing a public apology for the incident. Instead the government blamed the Buddhists' death on the Viet Cong. When the Buddhists continued to demonstrate, the government banned demonstrations. The Buddhist crisis had begun, and escalated.

When the government response to their grievances proved unsatisfactory, Buddhist monks and nuns began a series of hunger strikes. Rioting in Hue turned violent and government troops fought back. Anti-government demonstrations by the Buddhists spread throughout the country. In Saigon, on June 11 1963, an old Buddhist monk squatted on the street near the Xa Loi pagoda. Gasoline was poured over his head. The monk lit a match and set himself aflame. Thich Quang Duc was the first of seven Buddhists to protest the Diem regime with suicide by immolation.

The U.S. was stunned by the Buddhist suicides, and urged Diem to make some sort of settlement. Showing she was made of sterner stuff, Madame Nhu called for beating the monks "ten times over" and referred to the suicides as a "monk barbecue show." [19] Not to be outdone, **Nhu commented "If the Buddhists wish to have another barbecue I will be glad to supply the gasoline and a match."** [20] Pressured by the Americans, Diem finally met with Buddhist leaders. A communiqué was issued and signed by Diem. When Madame Nhu learned of this she accused Diem of cowardice and called him a jellyfish for even negotiating. [21]

Positions hardened. The Buddhist protests, originally religious, became overtly political. Their support increased. Nhu claimed the Buddhists were rebels and their movement was communist infiltrated. Diem and the Nhus wanted to crush the Buddhists but were restrained by the Americans, who professed a belief in religious freedom and urged the government to reform. The crisis extended into the fall, and worsened. The Nhus complained Diem was too soft on the Buddhists. There were rumors both the military and Nhu were planning anti-Diem coups.

Nhu considered the Vietnamese Special Forces his private army. On August 21 1963, he ordered hundreds of them to attack the Xa Loi pagoda with guns, tear gas, and grenades. The Buddhists barricaded themselves inside. After two hours of fighting over 100 monks were arrested and taken away. Madame Nhu granted an interview the day after the pagoda raid. She "was in a state of euphoria, chattering like a schoolgirl after a prom." She told the reporter the government had crushed "the Communist-Buddhists" and referred to the event as "the happiest day of my life since we crushed the Binh Xuyen in 1955." [22]

It wasn't a happy day for the Americans, who, having financed and trained the Vietnamese Special Forces, wanted them used for counterinsurgency instead of attacking pagodas. American officials began discussing the possibility of a coup with dissident Vietnamese generals.

On September 10, Madame Nhu embarked on an extended trip to Europe and the U.S. to explain "the monstrous plot of the Communists to stifle Vietnam." She also scoffed at reports the U.S. might reduce its aid to protest government repression. [23] When the U.S. did cut \$3 million in funding for the Vietnamese Special Forces until they returned to combat, Madame Nhu called it a "betrayal." [24] On September 22, while in Rome, she ridiculed junior officers of the U.S. military mission in Vietnam, calling them "little soldiers of fortune." [25] On October 7 she arrived in New York. Official welcomers – federal, state, and city – were conspicuously absent. On October 18, in Washington DC, Madame Nhu accused Kennedy administration officials of committing treason by reducing aid to South Vietnam. [26] On November 1, in Saigon, Vietnamese generals launched the third military coup against the government, resulting in the deaths of Diem and Nhu. Upon hearing the news the citizens of Saigon exploded in jubilation. A few of them used a power winch from a ship in the harbor to pull down a statue of Madame Nhu. [27] According to David Halberstam, had Madame Nhu been in Saigon, the new junta would have had a terrible problem trying to keep howling mobs from lynching her. [28]

In Beverly Hills, Madame Nhu bitterly accused the U.S. government of inciting and backing the coup. When asked if she might seek political asylum in the U.S., Madame Nhu replied, "Never! I cannot stay in a country with people who have stabbed my Government." [29] She flew to Rome with her children. Upon arrival she secluded herself in a convent. She left a trail of unpaid bills amounting to thousands of dollars in the wake of her five-week long visit to the United States. [30]

In Saigon, on November 15, the new government revoked Madame Nhu's diplomatic passport. On December 18 it rescinded Madame Nhu's unpopular morality and family laws. [31]

Apparently not finding seclusion to her liking, Madame Nhu quickly sold the exclusive screen, television, and press rights to her memoirs to a French publishing house. [32] She continued her attacks on the United States, calling Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge a

“bewildered nanny” who wanted to become the “governor general” of South Vietnam.[33] On January 13, she called for a United Nations investigation of the November coup and bizarrely expressed doubt her husband and Diem were even dead.[34] The following month the Saigon government declared her an outlaw and issued an order for her arrest.[35] In March Madame Nhu issued a 16,000 word statement in which she attacked President Kennedy and accused the U.S. of fascism and communism.

In June 1964, Madame Nhu applied for a visa to visit the U.S. At the urging of Ambassador Lodge, the State Department denied her request. In Rome she moved in with her brother-in-law, Archbishop Ngo Dinh Thuc. While detesting the American press, she offered to receive journalists under certain conditions: If the newspaper wanted a photograph, she would pose for \$1,000. For an interview plus photograph, the charge was \$1,500. Interviews would not be granted without photographs.[36]

The war in Vietnam dragged on, and finally ended. The press and public lost interest in Madame Nhu. Her fortunes continued to deteriorate. Her daughter, Ngo Dinh Le Thuy, died in 1967 of injuries suffered in an automobile accident. Twenty years later her brother was charged with first-degree murder in the slayings of her elderly parents.[37] Although born into one of the most important families in all of Vietnam, by the 1970s she was living in a villa in Rome, a place described as “somewhat rundown.” Her home was repeatedly struck by robbers.[38] She spent her time gardening and writing. In 1978 she was well into a history of South Vietnam “from an insider’s viewpoint.” No one alive had a better view of the rise and fall of the Diem regime and America’s involvement in what became its longest and most controversial war than Madame Nhu. No Vietnamese woman was more powerful, controversial, and disliked. Unfortunately, the book has never been published.

At the time of this writing Madame Nhu was living in Rome.

Footnotes:

- [1] For details on Madame Nhu’s early life, see “The Queen Bee,” *Time*, August 9, 1963, p. 22. “Ngo Dinh Nhu, Madame (Tran Le Xuan)” by Arthur T. Frame in *Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War: A Political, Social, and Military History*, Spencer C. Tucker, ed. NY: Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 293. Edward Miller, “Vision, Power, and Agency: The Ascent of Ngo Dinh Diem, 1945-54.” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 3, October 2004, p. 448.
- [2] David Halberstam, *The Making of a Quagmire* (NY: Random House, 1964), p. 57.
- [3] Robert Scigiano, *South Vietnam: Nation Under Stress* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963), p. 43.
- [4] Halberstam, p. 56.
- [5] Scigiano, p. 45.
- [6] Scigiano, pp. 59-60.
- [7] John Mecklin, *Mission in Torment: An Intimate Account of the U.S. Role in Vietnam* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), p. 37, 43, 48.
- [8] Robert Shaplen, “The Cult of Diem,” *New York Times*, May 14, 1972, p. SM 16.
- [9] “The Queen Bee,” *Time*, August 9, 1962, p.21.
- [10] Halberstam, pp. 48-49.
- [11] Joseph Buttinger, *Vietnam: A Political History* (NY: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 447.
- [12] Malcolm W. Browne, *The New Face of War: A Report on a Communist Guerrilla Campaign* (London: Cassell, 1965), p. 170. *New York Times*, February 4, 1962, p. 3.
- [13] Browne, p. 170.
- [14] *New York Times*, February 28, 1962, p. 1, and *New York Times*, March 1, 1962, p. 1.
- [15] Browne, 256.
- [16] Halberstam, pp. 65-66.
- [17] Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., *The Army and Vietnam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 58-59, 61-63.
- [18] Halberstam, p. 53.
- [19] *New York Times*, August 25, 1963, p. E1.
- [20] Mecklin, p. 178.
- [21] Halberstam, p. 212.
- [22] Halberstam, p. 235.
- [23] *Washington Post*, September 10, 1963, p. A9.
- [24] *New York Times*, October 23, 1963, p. 4.
- [25] *Washington Post*, September 23, 1963, p. A28.
- [26] *New York Times*, October 19, 1963, p. 6.
- [27] Seth Jacobs, *America’s Miracle Man in Vietnam* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), p. 2.
- [28] Halberstam, p. 55.
- [29] *New York Times*, November 2, 1963, p. 1.
- [30] *New York Times*, November 16, 1963, p. 6.
- [31] *Washington Post*, November 29, 1963, p. A6.
- [32] *Washington Post*, November 16, 1963, p. A9, *New York Times*, December 19, 1963, p. 9.
- [33] *New York Times*, December 16, 1963, p. 8.
- [34] *New York Times*, January 14, 1964, p. 3.
- [35] *New York Times*, February 26, 1964, p. 2.
- [36] *Washington Post*, November 30, 1965, p. B3.
- [37] *Washington Post*, April 24, 1987, p. C2.
- [38] *Washington Post*, October 19, 1987, p. A1; *New York Times*, November 2, 1986, p. 23; “Dragon Lady,” *Newsweek*, June 5, 1978, p. 16.

## Ho Chi Minh & Friends



Ho Chi Minh sits with Chairman Mao Tse-tung (left) at a reception given for Ho in Beijing (Peking), Communist China in 1955. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Ho Chi Minh (left), the Communist president of the People's Republic of Vietnam, and Chou Enlai, the premier of Communist China, smile for the camera during the latter's visit to Hanoi, North Vietnam in 1960. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS)



Ho Chi Minh (left) engages in a friendly conversation with Communist China's commissar Mao Tse-tung.



Left to right: Soviet commissar Nikita Khrushchev, Red China's commissar Mao Tse-Tung, and Red Vietnam's commissar Ho Chi Minh celebrate at a banquet in Beijing (Peking), Red China marking the 10th anniversary of the establishment of Communist rule in mainland China on October 30, 1959. (Underwood & Underwood/CORBIS)



The leader of the Viet Minh Communists, Ho Chi Minh, (R), now styled the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is host to India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru at his official residence in Hanoi on November 12, 1954, during the latter's recent visit as shown. Nehru also visited Communist China's Mao Tse-tung in a journey that some Western spokesmen viewed with alarm. Back home, the Indian leader publicly stated that he was convinced his "historic" visits had had a beneficial effect on the world situation. But, it was also reported that, in private, he was critical of some aspects of life behind the Bamboo Curtain. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Left photo: Ho Chi Minh meets with General Vo Nguyen Giap on the celebration of the establishment of the Vietnamese People's Army in 1962. (Photo: [http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News\\_English/News\\_Detail\\_E.aspx?CN\\_ID=419442&CO\\_ID=30438](http://cpv.org.vn/cpv/Modules/News_English/News_Detail_E.aspx?CN_ID=419442&CO_ID=30438))

North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh embraces Yugoslavia's dictator Marshal Josip Broz Tito (left) during Ho's visit to Belgrade, Yugoslavia in 1957. (Image by © Bettmann/CORBIS)



Left photo: North Korea's "Dear Leader" Kim Il Sung visits North Vietnam's Dictator Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi. Kim visited North Vietnam at least twice in secret.

Right photo: Chou Enlai (left), Mao Zedong (center), and Ho Chi Minh inspect their comrades in an undated photo.



Mao Tse-tung (left) and Chou Enlai (second from right) watch two children give flowers to Chairman Ho Chi Minh of the Workers' Party of Vietnam and President of the State on June 25, 1955.

(Photo: <http://english.cpc.people.com.cn/66116/4467750.html>)



Chou Enlai (left) embraces Ho Chi Minh in May 1960.

“Indochina brought considerable wealth to France, so that in the late 1930’s the Banque de l’Indochine spawned in France an influential political group, who played a major role in the defeatism of 1940 and the subsequent collaboration. After the Japanese withdrawal in 1945, the Paris government was reluctant to see this wealth, chiefly from the tin mines, fall into the hands of Japanese-sponsored native groups, and, by 1949, decided to use force to recover the area. Opposed to the French effort was Ho Chi Minh, a member of the French Communist Party since its founding in 1920, who had subsequently studied in Moscow and had been leader of the anti-colonial agitations of the Indochinese Communist Party since 1931. Ho had set up a coalition government under his Viet Minh Party and proclaimed independence for Vietnam (chiefly Tonkin and Annam) in 1945, while French troops, in a surprise coup, seized Saigon in the south. Unfortunately for Ho, he obtained no support from the Kremlin. The French Communist Party was at that time a major element in the French coalition government, with its leader, Maurice Thorez, holding the office of vice-premier. Stalin had no wish to jeopardize the Communist chances to take over France by his support for a remote and minor Communist like Ho Chi Minh. In fact, Thorez signed the order for military action against Ho’s Republic of Vietnam. At first Ho sought support from the United States and from Chiang Kai-shek, but, after the establishment of Red China in 1949, he turned to that new Communist state for help. Mao’s government was the first state to give Vietnam diplomatic recognition (January 1950), and at once began to send military supplies and guidance to Ho Chi Minh. **Since the United States was granting extensive aid to France, the struggle in Vietnam thus became a struggle, through surrogates, between the United States and Red China. In world opinion this made the United States a defender of European imperialism against anti-colonial native nationalism.”**

— *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 1043

During this turmoil, independent neutralist governments came into existence in the interior, with Laos to the north and Cambodia to the south. Both states accepted aid from whoever would give it, and both were ruled by an unstable balance of pro-Communists, neutralists, and pro-Westerners. The balance was doubly unstable because all three groups had armed supporters. On the whole, the neutralist group was the largest, and the pro-Western was the smallest, but the latter could obtain support from America’s wealth. The decisive influence in the 1950’s, however, was that the Communists, following the death of Stalin, were prepared to accept and support neutralism years before Dulles could get himself to condone it, a situation which gave considerable advantages to the extreme Left. The intensity of the struggle in Vietnam increased fairly steadily in the years following 1947. The creation of the Cominform and the subsequent Communist withdrawal from the coalition governments of Europe, including France, freed the Kremlin to support anti-colonial movements in Europe’s overseas territories. At the same time, the reestablished French Army was left with a wounded pride which became, in some cases, a neurotic drive to wipe out the stains of 1940-1942 by subsequent victories in colonial wars. The growing aggression of Communist China and Dulles’s fantasies about liberation all contributed to build the Indochina confusion into a flaming crisis. The final step came from the Korean truce of 1953 which freed Red China’s hands for more vigorous action in the southeast. The defeat of the Communist risings of 1948 elsewhere in Malaysia turned the new Chinese activities full into Indochina, which had an open frontier for passage of Chinese Communist supplies and advisers. This intensification of Chinese-supported Communist activities in Vietnam in 1953-1954 was quite contrary to the desires of the Kremlin, which was just entering the post-Stalin “thaw” and already moving toward the “Geneva spirit” of 1955. At the same time, the readiness of Dulles and the French Army to force a showdown in Vietnam was equally unacceptable to the British and to many persons in divided France. Out of these confusions came, on February 18, 1954, a Soviet suggestion for a conference on Indochina to be held at Geneva in April.”

— *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 1043-1044

“By the early months of 1954, the Communist guerrillas were in control of most of northern Indochina, were threatening Laos, and were plaguing the villages of Cochinchina as far south as Saigon. About 200,000 French troops and 300,000 Vietnamese militia were tied in knots by about 335,000 Viet Minh soldiers and guerrillas. France was being bled to death, both literally and financially, with little to show for it, but the French Army was obstinate in its refusal to accept another defeat. The French strong point at Dien Bien Phu was invested by Viet Minh on March 13, 1954, and by the end of the month its outer defenses were crumbling. The French chief of staff, General Ely, flew to Washington and found Dulles willing to risk an all-out war with Red China by authorizing direct American intervention in Indochina. As usual, Dulles thought that wonders could be achieved by an air strike alone against the besiegers of Dien Bien Phu, where the conflict increased in intensity daily. For a few days the United States, at Dulles’s prodding, tottered “on the brink of war.” Dulles proposed “a united action policy” which he described in these terms: “If Britain would join the U.S. and France would agree to stand firm,... the three Western states could combine with friendly Asian nations to oppose Communist forces on the ground just as the U.N. stepped in against the North Korean aggression in 1950 . . . and if the Chinese Communists intervene openly, their staging bases in south China [will] be destroyed by U.S. air power....” President Eisenhower agreed, but his calls to Churchill and Eden found the British government opposed to the adventure. The foreign secretary hastened to point out that the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1950 bound Russia to come to the assistance of China if it were attacked by the United States as Dulles contemplated. Discussion at Geneva, said Eden, must precede any such drastic action.

— *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 1044-1045

“Few international conferences have taken place amid such external turmoil as the Far Eastern Geneva Conference of April 25-July 20, 1954. During it, two American aircraft carriers, loaded with atomic weapons, were cruising the South China Sea, awaiting orders from Washington to hurl their deadly bombs at the Communist forces besieging the 15,000 exhausted troops trapped in Dien Bien Phu. In Washington, Admiral Radford was vigorously advocating such aggressive action on a generally reluctant government. In Paris, public outrage was rising over Indochina where the French had expended 19,000 lives and \$8 billion without improving matters a particle. At Geneva, delegates from nineteen nations were talking and stalling to gain as much as possible without open warfare. The fall of Dien Bien Phu on May 7th opened a vigorous debate in the French Assembly and led to the fall of Premier Joseph Laniel's government, the eighteenth time a Cabinet had been overturned since the end of World War II in 1945. The new prime minister, Pierre Mendes-France, promised a cease-fire in Indochina or his own retirement within thirty days. He barely made the deadline. The Indochinese settlement of July 20, 1954 was basically a compromise, some of whose elements did not appear in the agreement itself. A Communist North Vietnam state, with its capital at Hanoi (Tonkin), was recognized north of the 17th parallel of latitude, and the rest of Indochina was left in three states which remained associated with the French Union (Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam). The new state system of Southeast Asia was brought within the Dulles network of trip-wire pacts on September 8, 1954, when eight nations of the area signed an agreement at Manila establishing a Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). The eight (United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, and the Philippines) made no specific commitments, but set up a council, to meet at Bangkok and operate on a unanimous basis for economic, social, and military cooperation in the area. By special protocol they extended their protection to Laos, South Vietnam, and Cambodia. The Geneva agreement, in effect, was to neutralize the states of Indochina, but neutrality was apparently not acceptable to the Dulles brothers, and any possible stability in the area was soon destroyed by their activities, especially through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) seeking to subvert the neutrality of Laos and South Vietnam. This was done by channeling millions in American funds to Right-wing army officers, building up large (and totally unreliable) military forces led by these Rightist generals, rigging elections, and, when it seemed necessary, backing reactionary coups d'état. These techniques might have been justified, in the eyes of the CIA, if they had been successful, but, on the contrary, they alienated the mass of the natives in the area, brought numerous recruits to the Left, gave justification for Communist intervention from North Vietnam, disgusted our allies in Britain and France, as well as many of our friends in Burma, India, and elsewhere, and by 1962 had almost destroyed the American image and the American position in the area.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 1045-1046

“The American bungle in Laos was repeated, with variations, elsewhere in southern and southeastern Asia. In South Vietnam, American aid, largely military, amounted to about two-thirds of the country's budget, and by 1962, when it was running at about \$400 million a year, it had reached a total of \$2 billion. Such aid, which provided little benefit for the people, corrupted the government, weakened the swollen defense forces, and set up a chasm between rulers and people which drove the best of the latter Leftward, in spite of the exploitative violence of the Communist guerrillas. A plebiscite in 1955 was so rigged that the American-supported Right-wing candidate won over 98 percent of the vote. The election of 1960 was similarly managed, except in Saigon, the capital, where many people refused to vote. As might have been expected, denial of a fair ballot led to efforts to assassinate the American-supported President, Ngo Dinh Diem, and gave rise to widespread discontent which made it possible for the Communist guerrillas to operate throughout the country. The American-sponsored military response drove casualties to a high sustained figure by 1962 and was uprooting the peasantry throughout the country in an effort to establish fortified villages which the British had introduced, with success, in Malaya. These errors of American policy, which were repeated in other places, arose very largely from two factors: (1) American ignorance of local conditions which were passed over in the American animosity against Russia and China, and (2) American insistence on using military force to overcome local neutralism which the mass of Asiatic peoples wanted. The ignorance of local conditions was well shown in the American bungling in Cambodia and in Pakistan. In Cambodia a neutralist regime was primarily concerned with maintaining its independence between its two hereditary enemies, the Thai to the west and the Vietnamese to the east. The American militarization of both Thailand and South Vietnam was used by these countries to increase pressure on Cambodia, which, in spite of its pro-Western desires, was driven to seek support for its independence from China and Russia. This opened a wedge by which Communist pressure from North Vietnam could move across Laos and southward into Cambodia, between Thailand and South Vietnam, a possibility which would never have arisen if United States aid had not been used to corrupt and to militarize the two exterior states in the trio. At the same time, North Vietnam, with a greater population than South Vietnam (16 million to 14 million in 1960), has a deficiency of food, while South Vietnam, like all the delta areas, is a zone of rice surplus and thus a shining target for North Vietnamese aggression, especially when the agricultural collapse of Communist China made any food supply from the north almost hopeless.” – *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 1046-1047

“By 1939 there was only one independent state in southeast Asia: Siam (Thailand), left as a buffer between the British areas of Burma and the Malay States to the west and French Indochina in the eastern portion of the Malay Peninsula. Southward of the peninsula, in a great sweep eastward to New Guinea, were the multitudinous islands of Indonesia, ruled by the Netherlands from Batavia on the island of Java. To the north of these islands were the Philippines, still under American administration in 1939. Between Java and the Philippines, the great mass of the island of Borneo had a fringe of British dependencies (Sarawak, Brunei, and North Borneo) along its northern coast, while, far to the east, the eastern half of Timor was under Portuguese administration. Thus all Southeast Asia, except Thailand, was under the colonial domination of five Western states in 1939. **The interest of these imperial Powers in Southeast Asia was chiefly strategic and economic.** Strategically, these lands lay athwart the waters joining the Pacific with the Indian Ocean, a situation symbolized by the great British naval base of Singapore, at the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula, between Sumatra and Borneo. **Economically these areas produced substantial qualities of tin, rubber, petroleum, bauxite, and other products.** More significant, perhaps, from the Chinese point of view, many parts of the Malay Peninsula were fertile, were substantially underpopulated, and exported great quantities of rice (especially from Burma). Western prestige in Malaysia was irretrievably damaged by the Japanese conquests of the Philippines, the Dutch Indies, and Malaya in 1942, so that the reestablishment of the colonial Powers after the Japanese collapse in 1945 was very difficult. Burma and the Philippines were granted their independence by Great Britain and the United States, respectively, soon after the war's end. French Indochina emerged from the Japanese occupation as the three states of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, each claiming independence, while Java claimed sovereignty over the whole Netherlands East Indies as a newly independent state of Indonesia. Efforts by the European Powers to restore their prewar rule led to violent clashes with the supporters of independence. These struggles were brief and successful in Burma and Indonesia, but were very protracted in Indochina. Burma became an independent state in 1948, followed by Indochina in 1949, by Malaya in 1957, and by Singapore (under a special relationship) in 1959. Controversy and intermittent fighting between Indonesia and the Dutch over western New Guinea continued until 1962, when American pressure persuaded the Netherlands to yield, but left Indonesia, led by Achmed Sukarno, unfriendly to the West.” – *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 1041-1042

“In all these areas, native nationalists were inclined to the political Left, if for no other reason than the fact that the difficulties of capital accumulation and investment to finance economic improvements could be achieved only under state control. But such independent Socialism merged into other points of view which were clearly Communist. In some cases, such Communism may have been ideological, but in most cases it involved little more than the desire to play off the Soviet Union or Red China against the Western imperialist Powers. The Communists of Southeast Asia were thus Communists of convenience and tactical maneuver, and originally received little support from the Soviet Union because of Stalin's well-known reluctance to engage in political adventures in areas where he could not dominate the armed forces. But in February 1948, the new Cominform sponsored a Southeast Asia youth conference at Calcutta where armed resistance to colonialism was demanded. A Communist revolt in the Philippines had already begun and was joined, in the course of 1948, by similar uprisings in Burma, Indonesia, and Malaya. Most of these revolts took the form of agrarian agitations and armed raids by Communist guerrilla jungle fighters. Since these guerrillas operated on a hit-and-run basis and had to live off the local peasantry, their exploitation of peasant life eventually made them decreasingly welcome to this very group for whom they pretended to be fighting. In the Philippines the Hukbalahap rebels were smashed in 1953 by the energetic and efficient government of President Ramon Magsaysay. In Indonesia, Sukarno repressed the insurrection and executed its leaders. In Malaya, where the Communists were almost entirely from the Chinese minority, these rebels were systematically hunted down and destroyed by British troops in long-drawn jungle combat. In Burma, the long Chinese frontier provided a refuge for the rebels, and they were not eliminated until 1960. The real problem was Indochina. There the situation was complex, the French Army was uncompromising, and Communist leadership was skillful. As a result, the struggle there became part of the Cold War and contributed to a world crisis.”  
– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 1042

"The Geneva agreement of 1954 had recognized the Communist government of North Vietnam, dividing the country at the 17th parallel, but this imaginary line across jungle terrain could not keep discontent or Communist guerrillas out of South Vietnam so long as the American-supported southern government carried on its tasks with corruption, favoritism, and arbitrary despotism. These growing characteristics of the Vietnam government centered around the antics of the Diem family. The nominal leader of the family was President Ngo Dinh Diem, although the fanatical spirit of it was his brother's wife, Madame Nhu. The brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, was the actual power in the government, residing in the palace, and heading up a semi-secret political organization that controlled all military and civil appointments. Madame Nhu's father, Tran Van Chuong, who resigned from his post as Vietnam Ambassador to the United States as a protest against the arbitrary nature of the Diem family government, summed up his daughter's career as "a very sad case of power madness." The same authority spoke of President Diem as "a devoted Roman Catholic with the mind of a medieval inquisitor." On the Diem family team were three other brothers, including the Catholic Archbishop of Vietnam, the country's ambassador in London, and the political boss of central Vietnam, who had his own police force. The Diem family tyranny came to grief from its inability to keep in touch with reality and to establish some sensible conception of what was important. While the country was in its relentless struggle with the Vietcong Communist guerrillas who lurked in jungle areas, striking without warning at peasant villages that submitted to the established government or did not cooperate with the rebels, the Diem family was engaged in such pointless tasks as crushing Saigon high school agitations by secret police raids or efforts to persecute the overwhelming Buddhist majority and to extend favors to the Roman Catholics who were less than 10 percent of the population. When Diem became president in 1955, after the deposition of the pro-French Emperor Bao Dai, the country had just received 800,000 refugees from North Vietnam which the Geneva Conference of 1954 had yielded Ho Chi Minh's Communists. The overwhelming majority of these refugees were Roman Catholics, and their arrival raised the Catholic population of South Vietnam to over a million in a total population of about 14 million. Nevertheless, President Diem made these Catholics the chief basis of his power, chiefly by recruiting the refugees into various police forces dominated by the Diem family. By 1955 these were already beginning to persecute the Buddhist majority, at first by harassing their religious festivals and parades but later with brutal assaults on their meetings. An attempted coup d'état by army units which attacked the Royal Palace in November 1960 was crushed. From that date on, the Diem rule became increasingly arbitrary. In the middle of all this disturbance, American aid tried to revive the country's economy, and American military assistance tried to curtail the depredations of the Communist guerrillas. The two together amounted to about \$200 million a year, although economic aid alone was originally twice this figure. The intensity of the guerrilla attacks steadily increased, following President Diem's reelection, with 88 percent of the vote, in April 1961. As these attacks slowly increased, the American intervention was also stepped up, and gradually began to shift from a purely advisory and training role to increasingly direct participation in the conflict. From 1961 onward, American casualties averaged about one dead a week, year after year. The Communist guerrilla casualties were reported to be about 500 per week, but this did not seem to diminish their total numbers or relax their attacks, even in periods when their casualties were heavy. These guerrilla attacks consisted of rather purposeless destruction of peasant homes and villages, apparently designed to convince the natives of the impotence of the government and the advisability of cooperating with the rebels. To stop these depredations, the government undertook the gigantic task of organizing the peasants into "agrovilles," or "strategic hamlets," which were to be strongly defended residential centers entirely enclosed behind barricades. The process, it was said, would also improve the economic and social welfare of the people to give them a greater incentive to resist the rebels. There was considerable doubt about the effectiveness of the reform aspect of this process and some doubt about the defense possibilities of the scheme as a whole. The American advisers preferred stalking-patrols to seek out the guerrillas rather than static defenses, stressed the need for night rather than only daytime counteractions, and the use of the rifle instead of large-scale reliance on air power and artillery. Moreover, most observers felt that very little of America's economic aid ever reached the village level but, instead, was lost on much higher levels, beginning with the royal palace itself. By the summer of 1963, guerrillas were staging successful attacks on the strategic hamlets, and the need for a more active policy became acute. Unfortunately, just at that time, the domestic crisis in Vietnam also was becoming acute. This final crisis in the story of the Diem family and its henchmen arose from religious persecution of the Buddhists under the guise of maintaining political order. Restrictions on Buddhist ceremonies led to Buddhist protests, and these in turn led to violent police action. The Buddhists struck back in a typically Asiatic fashion, which because it was Asiatic proved to be very effective in the Asiatic context: individuals or small groups of Buddhists committed suicide in some crowded public place near a governmental center. The favorite mode of suicide was to drench the victim's long yellow robes with gasoline and ignite these with a match as he knelt in a public square or street. The calloused reaction of the Diem family, especially of Madame Nhu, shocked the world, and outraged feeling rose rapidly in the summer of 1963. When thirty-five university professors and a number of public officials (including the father of Madame Nhu) resigned, the police attacked Buddhist shrines, arresting hundreds of their priests. Student agitations led to the closing of Saigon University and of all public and private schools, with the arrest of many students. A United Nations fact-finding commission was isolated by Diem police. On November 1, 1963, an American-encouraged military coup, led by General Duong Van Minh, overthrew the Diem family, killing several of its members." – *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 1172-1174